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MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

FROM A PORTRAIT BY REMBRANDT

Frontispiece

JEWISH STUDIES

Edited by A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, D.D.

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS IN ENGLAND

BY THE REV.

H. P. STOKES, LL.D., LITT.D., F.S.A.

HON. FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; HON. CANON OF ELY

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PREFACE BY THE EDITOR

No modern nation has taken more interest in the Jews than the English-speaking peoples, none has tried to deal more fairly with them. Yet it cannot be pretended that we English know much about their post-Biblical history, practices, and beliefs, much less that we have studied these in relation to Christianity past and present.

The aim of this series is to do something towards supplying this want. It will endeavour to describe Jews as they have been and as they are, to state and explain the efforts of Christians in past centuries to win them, and the methods used, and both to set out and to weigh their chief doctrines.

Thus gradually but surely a collection of handbooks will be formed, which Jews and Christians alike may use, and each learn to understand better the religion of the other. Naturally the books will be Christian, and because they are Christian will try both to represent Christianity in its proper spirit, and to exhibit it as the supreme truth.

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

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I

THE PRE-EXPULSION PERIOD

HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE EXPULSION

THE Jews came into England with the Conqueror. There are, indeed, rumours of their presence here now and then in Anglo-Saxon times; but the evidence of this is too vague to be accepted. William I. brought them from Rouen, and settled them in various towns in his new dominion; and during the reign of the first Norman king they gradually prospered. They were still more favoured by William II. Referring to a controversy between some clerics and some Israelites, the Red King is said to have declared, with a characteristic oath: "by the face of St. Luke," that "if the Jews overcame the Christians, he himself would become one of their sect."

In Henry I.'s time, in certain Treasury records, we first meet with official allusions to Jewish financial

transactions; while, in the reign of King Stephen, the earliest of those miserable "blood-accusations" is chronicled; the so-called Martyr, little William of Norwich, having, according to report, been tortured and murdered by Israelites of that city on Good Friday of the year 1144.

The long reign of Henry II. was favourable to the Jews, who spread throughout England, and were engaged increasingly in money dealings; some of their leaders—such as Aaron of Lincoln—having extensive and remunerative dealings in various parts of the land. The Exchequer authorities did not fail, on behalf of the King (whose relationship to the Jews we shall consider in the next chapter), to extract heavy tolls or "tallages" from the financiers. On the death of Aaron of Lincoln, for instance, his possessions were seized, and a special administration thereof was formed. On the other hand, facilities of travel were accorded to the Jews, and distinguished visitors from the Continent, such as Abraham Ibn Ezra, were welcomed. Permission was granted to open burial-grounds in various provincial towns.

The accession of Richard I., however, was a landmark in the troubles of Israel. At the coronation of that king on September 3, 1189, the Jews were indeed forbidden to enter Westminster Abbey, but, led by loyalty and perhaps by curiosity, a number of them gathered at the church doors. Unfortunately, their presence was the occasion of a riot among the assembled crowds, and plunder and massacre followed. The persecuting spirit spread throughout the country, a terrible slaughter, for instance, occurring in the city of York, where the Jewish "usances and quittances

and horseleech papers were summarily set fire to," as Thomas Carlyle puts it, in *Past and Present*. The King and the royal officials were greatly annoyed, both at the rioting and at the destruction of Jewish property and bonds. Accordingly an elaborate system of financial organisation was instituted, which will be described in a subsequent section. In connexion with the King's ransom a few years later on, the Israelites were compelled to make a notable contribution.

When King John succeeded his brother Richard, partly from policy and partly from his general opposition to ecclesiastical and other authorities, that turbulent monarch favoured the Jews, granting them certain charters. Yet he did not hesitate to mulct them with great severity; while, during the troubles with the Barons, the Jewries suffered heavily, many of them being sacked and plundered. One of the clauses of *Magna Carta* was specially directed against the Jews; "suspending the accruer of interest during the minority of an heir."

While Henry III. was a youth, there was a lull in the affairs of the people with whom we are dealing; and, although they were not infrequently tallaged, they were for some years in comparative prosperity. The King was interested in them from a religious point of view, and in 1232 he established the *Domus Conversorum* for the reception of some who embraced Christianity. The influx of Poitevins and others after the royal marriage and the growing disputes with the Barons, however, led to national disturbances and civil wars, during which the Jews suffered greatly, being attacked and plundered in London and in

various provincial Jewries. The Barons were specially severe upon them; the people were stirred against them by the reported "Martyrdom" of little Hugh of Lincoln; while the King, in his financial difficulties, was continually tallaging the unfortunate Jews. At one time he assembled their representatives in a Jewish "Parliament" at Worcester (1241), for the purpose of enforcing a self-taxation; at other times he "sold" them to his uncle, Richard of Cornwall, or to his sons, Prince Edward and Edmund of Lancaster, receiving a lump sum of money and granting permission to levy taxes on the unfortunate financiers. Their leaders, notably Elias "the Chief Presbyter," made spirited and pitiful appeals against these excessive tallages; but the plundering continued publicly and privately. To the Queen, for instance, certain individual rich Jews were mortgaged, and particular Jewries assigned. And so the long and ignoble reign of Henry III. dragged on; occasions of all kinds being found for extracting money from the Israelites; the crusading enterprise of Prince Edward, for example, being an excuse for a heavy taxation.

During the absence of the Prince, Henry III. passed away in the year 1272; but the accession of Edward I., in spite of the generally enlightened character of that monarch, brought no alleviation to the Jews, while certain enactments which were made limiting their money-lending powers, lessened also their financial possibilities. In spite of Professor Graetz (History, III. xvii.), Eleanor of Castile, the new Queen, was as deadly an enemy of Israel as the Dowager Eleanor of Provence. "The Statute

of Judaism," which was passed in 1274, altered the standpoint of the Jews; fresh proclamations about the wearing of badges added to their grievances; numerous executions of Jews on charges of coin-clipping, and many cases of fines and imprisonment, alarmed the communities; while a growing dislike on the part of the populace rendered the condition of Israelites very insecure and distressful. At length, in 1290, for reasons which will be discussed in a subsequent section, an order was issued for *the expulsion of all Jews* from the land, and in the autumn of that year a compulsory exodus took place, and so, after two centuries and more, it became illegal for any unconverted Israelite to sojourn in England; nor was this rule relaxed for more than three centuries afterwards. Not from the days of Edward I. till Cromwell's time were Jews knowingly permitted to reside in this realm. Marlowe's Barabbas and Shakespeare's Shylock were probably drawn from hearsay.

Such is a brief historical sketch of the Jews in England from the Conquest to the Expulsion. We proceed, in the following chapters, to give details of their relationship to the King and his officials, of their home life, their business life, their religious life, and so on, during the early sojourn of the children of Israel in these islands.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE JEWS TO THE KING AND THE STATE

THE Jews who lived in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, occupied a most peculiar position. They lived apart from the rest of the people, by whom they were suspected and disliked. The barons and the country gentry, who borrowed money from them, the abbots and priors, who also had similar dealings with them, were anything but grateful to them under their financial obligations; and whenever there was an outburst of civil war or of popular rioting, they were not unwilling to use the occasion to destroy the bonds or to capture the chests which contained the records of their debts. The connexion of the Jews with the King—at first personally and afterwards under an organised Exchequer—was still more peculiar. They were his personal chattels; in the statute "De la Jeuerie" (*c.* 1275) there is an expression used as to the relationship of the Jew "au Roi, *Ky serf il est.*" Here we see an official statement of the position in which the Israelite stood to the King "*whose serf he is.*" He had to obtain royal permission to settle in any city or town, from which he could not remove without

similar leave; his property was continually liable to be taxed and tallaged; at his death the King claimed the whole, and secured a large share, of his possessions. The bonds and records, which told of his debts, were (as we shall see) duplicated, chested and catalogued; so that the royal officials could inspect them, and, if need be, seize them. And the occasion often arose when they were seized and shared. Why then did the Jews accept such a position and submit to such conditions? The answer is that, while the King again and again fleeced them (and, by-the-by, allowed them to fleece their debtors), he would not permit any one else to interfere with their finances. It is true, as remarked above, that during disturbances rioters now and again attacked the dwellings of the Jews and the official arks which contained their bonds, but such tumults were promptly suppressed and punished. And these steps were taken, not merely for the sake of public order, but that the royal authorities might have power over the Jewish possessions—for purposes of taxing and tallaging. The Jews often complained and piteously appealed; they offered gifts and bribes; they threatened to withdraw from the land. But they preferred royal exactions to baronial or popular plunder, and they knew that they might fare worse across the Channel.

These exactions were not so oppressive, nor were outbreaks so tumultuous, in the earlier reigns; but the royal authorities gradually felt their power, and the exchequer organisations became more systematic. On the death of Aaron of Lincoln, *c.* 1187, the possessions and debts of this keen financier were found to be so valuable and extensive that a special part of the

Treasury—called *Scaccarium Aaronis*—was assigned for the administration of his moneys, and during several years the collection of his debts was officially continued.

Again, after the tumults which arose at the coronation of Richard I. in 1199, and the destruction of the Jewish bonds and securities shortly afterwards at York and elsewhere, the Jewry was re-organised and special *Ordinances of the Jews* were enacted, a department of the Treasury, called "the Exchequer of the Jews," being set apart for the control of Jewish usury. It is not necessary here to go into technical details as to this organisation, which will be found elaborately described in Madox's standard work on the Exchequer and lucidly dealt with in Dr. C. Gross's paper in the Jewish *Exhibition Publications*. Special high officials were appointed at headquarters, and minor custodians were placed in charge of the chests or arks which were established for the care of bonds or "starrs" at many local centres. Fortunately a long series of records connected with the transactions of the Exchequer of the Jews has been preserved, and several volumes, epitomising these proceedings from the institution of this department down to the Expulsion of the Jews, have already been issued by the *Anglo-Jewish Historical Society* under the able editorship of Mr. J. Rigg. In these records most interesting details are given not only of the financial dealings of Israelite money-dealers, but also of the habits and customs of the Jews in England.

This Exchequer system was maintained right up to the time of the Expulsion, on behalf of the King, who still exercised a personal control thereof—speaking

of the Jewry and the Jews as *Judaismus noster et Judæi nostri*, or of individual Jews (*e.g.* Aaron of York) as *Judæus noster*. They were also, as we have seen, disposed of as a community and personally. Thus not only did Henry III. mortgage them as a body to his uncle and to his sons (as when in 1255 he assigned the whole body of the Jews to Earl Richard as a security for a loan, and as in 1262 he granted the Jewry to Prince Edward, with the use of the seals of his Exchequer of the Jews to authorise his writs and with a prison for their detention), but he even ratified the demise of the Jewry by his son to the Caturcensian merchants for two years. Similarly as to individual Jews, Henry assigned Aaron, son of Vives, as a personal "chattel" to his son Edmund earl of Lancaster, and Edward I. granted Hagin, son of Dieulecresse, to his consort Eleanor of Castile, and so on.

In the working of the Exchequer system, not only were English judges and officials nominated, but Jewish assessors and agents were continually appointed; and this was the more necessary as many of the deeds and starrs were written in Hebrew. The custodians of the local chests were also partly Jews and partly Englishmen.

It may be added that, during the whole of the thirteenth century, an official head of the Jewish community was appointed to represent his brethren. His technical title was "Presbyter omnium Judæorum Angliæ," and the ecclesiastical tone of this name has led many writers to speak of these officials as if they held some spiritual appointment, and to style them "Chief Rabbis"; but the duties were

certainly secular. There were six of these Arch-Presbyters: Jacob (1199), Josceus (1207), Aaron of York (1236), Elias Episcopus (1243), Hagin, son of Master Moses (1257), and Hagin, son of Dieulecresse (1281). The name of the fourth of these, Elias le Eveske, has supported the mistaken idea that they exercised rabbinical and other religious functions; but the designations—*Episcopus*, *Le Eveske*, *Cohen* or *Bishop*—had then become a surname. It is not necessary here to enter into an account of the various duties assigned to these Arch-Presbyters, nor to allude to their somewhat checkered careers. The writer may perhaps be allowed to refer to some of the chapters of his *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History* (1913).

The practical working of the above system may further be gathered from the following sections on different aspects of Jewish life during the period which we are now considering, where it will be noticed that the rigour of the organisation was considerably modified by " the qualified autonomy of the Jewry " (as Mr. Rigg puts it), and by the personal favours granted to individual Jews.

CHAPTER III

THE BUSINESS LIFE OF THE JEWS

THE organised system described in the last chapter was rendered necessary by the almost universal occupation of the English Jews as money-lenders. It is true that now and then we meet with such names as R. Solomon the *physician*, Ysaac *Medicus*, Menahem the *scribe*, Leo the *goldsmith*, etc.; but these are exceptional. The large majority of the men, and not a few of the women, dealt in usury. As to the women, we find transactions recorded in connexion with Jewesses trading in their own names, as well as frequent allusions to negotiations conducted by wives and daughters in the absence of their husbands or fathers. For instance, Milla, the widow of Saulot Muton, in 1267, had "sold to Master Elias, son of Master Moses, a debt of 100*s*., yearly fee-rent, under the names of Master Nicholas de Waddingham and the said Milla"; Godenota, wife of Furmentin of Lincoln, lent moneys by chirograph to Roger de Neville, in 1220, "to wit, $6\frac{1}{2}$ marks for $10\frac{1}{2}$ marks and 1 seam of corn"; Margaret, daughter of Jurnet of Norwich, had dealings in usury with Peter of Eclesfield in 1201, and apparently herself drew up the starr in Hebrew, using her home name of Miriam; Michael Strangelynn came to

Cambridge in 1272, and entered into negotiations with the wife of Abraham, son of Antera; Roger de Fanecurt appeared at Stamford in 1274 with reference to debt claimed by Dyaya of Holm, the defence being that Roger had two or three years before come to the Jew's house in that town, "and the said Dyaya not being at home, he paid the moneys to his wife, who gave him the corresponding part of the charter, to show to the Chirographers of Stamford, to enable him to withdraw the said charter from the Chest as being quit."

In these quotations various technical expressions happen to occur—such as Chest, Chirographer, Charter, Starr, etc. It may, therefore, be well—although the subject has been referred to in the previous section—to give a brief description of the system which had been introduced for the organisation of Jewish financial dealings. The important work at Westminster at the Exchequer, with the Justices, and the Jewish and other assessors, the Plea Rolls, etc., need not be further detailed; but the work of the local branches must be described. At various centres there were Chests or *Archæ* of the chirographs. In the *Capitula de Judæis* (1194) it was ordered that the Jews should arrange their loans in the presence of four chirographers, two Christian and two Jewish, of two scribes and certain other officials. The charters or acknowledgments of debt were to be duplicate deeds written on one membrane and afterwards divided; one part with the seal of the debtor to be retained by the Jew, the other part, called "the foot," etc., to be kept in a common chest, or ark, with three locks, etc. A roll was to be compiled of all the

charters or chirographs, and regulations were made as to their custody and release. There were changes at a later date, a triplicate form being ordered for the debtor, the Jew and the chest.

The Jews were ordered to reside only in such places as had chests assigned to them, and a long list of such centres might be compiled. But though there are writs and precepts with reference to such compulsory residence on the part of the Jews, there can be no doubt that they found their way to almost every part of the country.

The chests and the rolls were periodically scrutinised by the authorities, and their inspection, and at times their seizure, gave the King and his officials a great hold not only upon the wealth of the Jews, but also upon the possessions of many of the barons and other debtors of the financiers.

In the working of the Exchequer and the chests, not only were there the chirographs and the charters and the *starrs* or quit-claims, but also there was a curious system of payment by *tallies*—pieces of wood cloven asunder, both the stock and the counter-stock, or counter-foil, having the names of the Jews written thereon in Hebrew or Latin, with the amount of the debt, which was also indicated by certain notches.

Many of these deeds and starrs and tallies still remain in the British Museum, in the Record Office and elsewhere to remind us of the tens of thousands of such tokens of exchange which once existed; and the Plea Rolls of the Court of Exchequer and other records still preserve for us the details of these financial dealings.

Still in the triforium of the south transept (Poets' Corner) of Westminster Abbey may be seen a number of the Chests, or Archæ, which were by royal command removed thither from the local centres at the Expulsion in the year 1290.

These records and notices in the old chroniclers, ecclesiastical and otherwise, reveal to us the extraordinary number and the variety of those with whom the Jews had dealings—the castle-builders, the crusaders, the founders of abbeys and monasteries—these last especially, both on their own account and on behalf of others, having many such financial transactions. Nine Cistercian abbeys built between the years 1140 and 1152, for instance, owed moneys to Aaron of York; Aaron of Lincoln used to boast "that it was he who had made a window for the Abbey of St. Alban's, and that he had prepared a home for the Saint when he was without one" (as Prof. Freeman and Dr. Joseph Jacobs were fond of pointing out). Turning to individuals, we may refer to such names as those of Prince (afterwards King) John; Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York (who appeared in person at an inquiry held at Warwick in 1270, concerning a debt of £120, claimed by Benedict of Lincoln); great noblemen like William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, in 1220; the trustees of the Merton property situated in Cambridge; and such interesting personalities as Fulk Fitz-Warin (see the Story of Robin Hood), a Roger Tichborne and a Walter Long, of the thirteenth century.

There are many points in connexion with the Jews and their commercial and financial transactions which might be discussed. We can only here

tell of the proclamations which were made as to debts and claims in their synagogues, a sheriff, for instance, sending word that in this manner notices should be given on two or three sabbaths, as well in Latin as in Hebrew, concerning some deceased Jew or some disputed transaction. The mention of sheriffs reminds us of the difficulties that often attended the levying of debts—the common bell of the town being rung, a hue and cry being made, riot and assault sometimes following. When Roger de Kinton, sergeant of the Exchequer of the Jews, went to Southampton in 1275 to levy a debt of Jewry, the blacksmith by the way wounded his horse, and threats abounded.

AARON OF COLCHESTER.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOME LIFE OF THE JEWS

THE public troubles which so continually beset the Jewish people drew them closer to one another, and united them in their family life. Without, there might be royal oppression or popular hatred; but within, there was home happiness. Their quarters might be close and confined, but they were among friends. Compare the remarkable *Home Life of the Jews in the Middle Ages* by Dr. Israel Abrahams, and the frank and picturesque modern *Ghetto* stories by Mr. Israel Zangwill.

It is true that in Mediæval English towns the Jewry was not a Ghetto; sometimes even, as at Lincoln, the houses of the Jews were situated in different parts of the town. Often they were good-sized mansions, built of stone, as in the city just mentioned, in Bury St. Edmunds, and other places, where such buildings still remain. The *Chronicle of Abingdon*, under date 1244–5, tells how "the clerks of Oxford invaded the Jewry there, and sacked the *sumptuous* houses of their creditors." Similarly in 1274 the houses of the wealthy Isaac of Southwark at Guildford, and of the influential Deudoné at Winchester were attacked. Such assaults as these (which were not always so successful) were among the causes of

the houses of the Jews being built of stone. In the celebrated riot at York at the beginning of Richard I.'s reign, the houses there "could not be broken into owing to their strong build," until the thatched roof was set on fire.

Another characteristic of these dwellings was the underground cellar. Such a stone-vaulted cellar may be seen on the Steep Hill at Lincoln, and such thick underground walls still exist by the Guildhall at Cambridge. In the Jewish *Plea Rolls* there are several allusions to underground cellars and pits, and to chests and treasures and coin-clippings found therein. Readers of *Ivanhoe* will remember the fright which Locksley (Robin Hood) gave Isaac of York, when he told him: "I am intimately acquainted, Isaac, with the very iron chest in which thou dost keep thy money-bags. What! Know I not the great stone beneath the apple-tree, that leads into the vaulted chamber under thy garden at York?" The curiosity of the present writer was once excited by noting a mandate quoted in the *Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 29, as follows: "the *coffins* of the Jews to be searched." But a reference to the original, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, showed that it was a misprint for "*coffers*," and therefore merely an allusion to an official inspection of the Chirographical Chests. It may be added that subterranean treasure belonged by right to the King; as we read in quaint Norman French in *Les Chapitles tuchaunz le Gywerie:* "De treseur trove *de suz terre en mesons* des givs ou ayllurs apres la mort des gyvs (concerning treasure found underground in houses of Jews, or elsewhere, after the death of Jews)."

From these homes the masters frequently travelled in connexion with their financial transactions into different parts of England and sometimes to the Continent, their wives, as we have seen, being ready to do business in their absence. Readers of Sir Walter Scott's novel quoted above may again be reminded of the description of the journeys of Isaac of York, and those who consult the Jewish *Plea Rolls* will find many allusions to the travels of the Israelite money-dealers, to their hiring of horses and of carts. A penny a day Bonevie of Oxford paid, at the end of June, 1272, when he hired a horse for his journey from that city to London; and the bridle which he lost was valued at one halfpenny. Moses Rod and Aaron of Cornwall were charged, at Hereford in 1244–5, with stealing the horse which they were riding.

Jews also frequently changed their place of residence, and for this removal they had to obtain permission. Josce and Meyr of Oxford, for instance, in 1267, paid 4 bezants to the royal authorities to be allowed to move to Bridgnorth; there, by-the-by, they were permitted to find harbourage in the castle in case of danger. Moses of Northampton, on the other hand, having removed by stealth to Oxford in 1273, was arrested and imprisoned. When Aaron of Kingston obtained, in 1266, a safe-conduct for himself and his family to remove to Windsor, he hired a cart to carry his goods to the royal borough.

On landing in England, and on leaving for the Continent, the Jews had to obtain permission. For instance, in the year 1220, when Master Josce landed between Pevensey and Hastings, he was arrested and money taken from him. When "Jacob of Oxford, of

London, went overseas in 1273, towards the parts of Gascony, without a permit (although he had left one of the keys of the London Chirograph Chest with his son for safe keeping), a mandate was issued to the Constable of the Tower of London and the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, to take all his houses, rents, tenements, goods and chattels into the King's hand," as we read in Mr. Rigg's *Calendar of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 107.

Having made these allusions to removals (and others might be quoted, such as "the absconding, in 1253, of Josce of Colchester, of Lincoln, to evade tallage, wherefore his house in that city was distrained"; the flight of Peytivin, a leading Jew of the same city, two years later, when so many arrests were made about "the martyrdom of little Hugh," and so on), it is right to add that there are also allusions to long continuance in certain towns and to cordial esteem on the part of their fellow-citizens. Jacob, son of Bonefey, of Oxford, for instance, in 1244, was recommended "by honest and lawful men of the town, to wit, by Geoffrey de Stocwell [one of the Christian chirographers of that city] and by eleven other inhabitants, who testified that the said Jacob, son of Bonefey, was brought up among them from infancy, and bore himself ever leally in all manner of lealty." Benedict, son of Aaron, is said to have held office (as mayor) for some years before 1249 in Southampton (if Mrs. Green's *Town Life*, ii. 307, is reliable); and according to Dr. Kitchin's *Winchester*, p. 108, "Simon le Draper, the mayor, in 1268, by letters patent under the common seal of the city, admitted 'our faithful and special neighbour, Benedict

the Jew, son of Abraham, into full membership of the liberty of the city, and citizenship, and guild-rights in the Merchant-Guild, with all the privileges in the same liberty." So, to take one more instance, Cresse, the son of Master Moses (as we learn from the Patent Rolls of 54 Henry III.), being "a good and faithful Jew, and having lived well and faithfully, made his will according to the custom of Jewry and left his houses to his son Cok."

This allusion to the making of a will (and other instances might be quoted—such as the record of how Solomon of Gloucester, on a certain sabbath in the year 1220, "thinking to die, had divers Jews summoned by the sheriff to make his will," etc.)—illustrates one of the various Jewish local privileges and customs, upon which much might be said; but some of these are too technical to be detailed here, and some are so connected with the religious life of the Jews that they must be treated of in our next section.

Something ought also to be said of the various accusations brought against the Jews; the so-called martyrdoms of Christian boys at Norwich, York, etc., have already been referred to; in the Plea Rolls and elsewhere frequent charges are made against the Israelite financiers of altering, or concealing, or forging charters and starrs, many of these impeachments being sustained in court, and not a few of them being admitted; the offence of coin-clipping (so easily accomplished in the coinage of those times) was frequently brought against them, and numerous executions were carried out. Imprisonments and capital convictions were again and again the lot, even

for members of wealthy and influential Jewish families. Benedict, the son of Abraham, whom we have seen honoured at Winchester, was arrested and hanged; Belle-Assez, a distinguished Jewess, who owned the stone house at Lincoln, and to whom allusion will be made in the next chapter, met with a similar fate; and other cases might be mentioned. Some of these accusations were probably false, and many of the imprisonments were undoubtedly arbitrary and undeserved. But the homes of the Mediæval Jews were often darkened by grievous calamities.

No wonder individual Jews were glad to have the special protection of members of the royal family; and no wonder there were endeavours to strengthen their communal action. There are frequent allusions to the combined dealings of local *communities;* a remarkable example being the boycotting action of the Canterbury community in the year 1266. They were also compelled, as we have seen, to reside in authorised places; a rule illustrated by the following order in 1270, when "Jacob of Norwich received the King's licence to reside at Honiton, *where there is no community of the Jews.*"

The history, the character and the habits of many Jews are illustrated by their *names.* A large majority were still termed the sons and daughters of their fathers and mothers, Isaac the son of Abraham, Miriam the daughter of Jurnet, Josce the son of Sara, and so on. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries surnames were becoming common. Many were called after the town in which they had first lived—we have already had occasion to mention such names as Josce of Colchester, of Lincoln, as well as Isaac of York, etc.

Some came from "over the seas," Judas le Franceys, Joseph de Peitevin, Aaron de Hibernia, and so on. Some were known from some personal peculiarity, Isaac the Long, Isaac the Short, Moses the Dark (le *Brun*), Deudone "turn-toes," Moses "the Nosey," etc. We have already spoken of such Jews as Solomon the Physician, Isaac *Medicus*, Menahem the Scribe, Leo the Goldsmith—where it is difficult to say whether we are alluding to the profession or to the surname. In olden and in modern times, the names of animals were sometimes assumed—*e.g.* Abraham le Chat (or Kat) and Josce Pigge. We are reminded how, in later times, "once when King George III. was inspecting an East End regiment, in which the Jewish element predominated, he is said to have expressed some amused surprise on hearing from the roll-call some of the volunteers designated by names usually borne by familiar quadrupeds—such as Fox, Wolf, Bear and Lyon" (the quotation is from J. Picciotto's *Sketches*, p. 276). Not to mention other kinds of names, it may be added that such formal surnames as Bateman, Pearce, Russell, etc., appear in old Jewish deeds.

Then there were double names, and changed names. In the Plea Rolls, under date 1273, we read: "Be it had in remembrance, that Abraham Mutun gives the King 1 bezant that his cognomen be changed." As to double names, a Jew frequently had his home and religious name (*Shem Hakkodesh*) and his secular or worldly name (*Kinnui*). Benedict of Lincoln, known as "le Riche," had his synagogue-name Elias; Solomon of Norwich, called also Mordecai, was known to the world as Dieulecresse, and so on,

as may be seen in M. D. Davis's *Shetaroth,* and other documents.

And as the men's names are expressive, so are the Jewesses picturesquely styled. Witness the following: Licorice, Swetecot, Belle-Assez, Regina, Comitissa, Preciosa, Bessa (when this lady's tragic story is recorded in the Plea Rolls we are incidentally told that she was wearing a buckle and gold rings), Saphira, Brunetta, Glorietta, and scores of others.

It will be noticed that some of these names, and many other such, both of men and women, are Norman French. And this reminds us that doubtless the language ordinarily used in those days by the Jews was French; which is corroborated by historical notices and by the reported witticisms of certain Israelites, the point whereof might be lost if this were not remembered.

A note may be added as to the yellow badge which was compulsorily worn upon the breast of the Jewish gaberdines in mediaeval times. In the Close Rolls, under date 2 Henry III. (1218), may be seen a royal Proclamation following certain ecclesiastical regulations, and ordering "the wearing on the forepart of the upper garment of two broad stripps of white linen or parchment." Dr. Tovey says that the purpose was "to compleat their Security (that none might do them hurt, under pretence of not knowing them)." But it may be doubted whether the Jews themselves looked at the *Signum* in this light. This order was not actually repealed until the year 1846.

The interesting question of the Home Life of the Jews is, of course, many-sided. Further aspects of it may be appropriately dealt with in the next section.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JEWS

THE subject of this chapter is closely connected with that of the last section. Their family life and their religious life had much in common. There were many points of tangency between the Home and the Synagogue.

It has been customary to give a list of those who are often called the "Chief Rabbis" in England during Mediæval times, and the learned Rev. Dr. H. Adler had a special paper on these distinguished Jews. But it has been confidently asserted in a former chapter of this work (see p. 11) that this is a mistake; that these officials were civil, and not spiritual, leaders, so that, under this section, we need not again refer to them.

There were, however, a number of learned men, trained in Jewish laws and customs, *Masters of the Law* they were called, who were honoured in the local communities and to whom the people turned in matters of difficulty. They were also consulted by the royal authorities, when any Jewish custom or observance was disputed. Examples of such consultation by the state officials may be noted now and again in the Plea Rolls; for instance, Master Elias,

the son of Master Moses, was summoned into the presence of the King on January 30, 1270, and consulted as to Jewish law and custom with regard to certain disputed "debts, goods and chattels;" he quoted certain precedents, and referred to a previous case of excommunication. To take another example from a somewhat different point of view, we learn from the *Patent Rolls*, under date July 28, 1250, that King Henry III. granted a licence to the Masters of the Law of the commonalty of the Jews in London to excommunicate such Jews as refused to contribute the subsidy they had promised towards sustaining their common cemetery in London.

Dr. Joseph Jacobs, in his excellent book on the *Jews of Angevin England*, has given quite a long list of distinguished Anglo-Jewish Rabbis who lived in or visited our island in the twelfth century, with learned treatises composed by them. It is generally thought, however, that the list is rather imaginative; though, of course, we must recognise such grammarians as Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah, and such visitors as Abraham Ibn Ezra, the celebrated author from Spain, whom Browning celebrates as "Rabbi ben Ezra."

It is interesting to note that when Joseph, son of Baruch, visited England in 1211, he induced many English Jews to go with him and his French followers on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and similarly in 1257, when R. Jehiel of Paris journeyed to Jerusalem he was accompanied by some 300 English and French disciples, who had been ill-treated in their native countries.

Mr. Green, the historian, and others have written of learned Jews and medical teachers at Oxford, and

certain halls in that University have been linked with Israelitish names; but Dr. Neubauer is doubtless right in questioning this teaching element, while the houses, even if the names be rightly attached to them, were certainly not centres of Jewish culture.

In the Synagogues, there were the usual officials —the Warden (*Parnas*), the Treasurer (*Gabbai*), the Chanter (*Chazan*), the Beadle (*Shamash*), the Slaughterer (*Shochet*), etc. It may be added that several of these titles were apparently being used as surnames.

As to the Synagogues themselves, almost every place of importance where Jews resided possessed such a building, the positions of which in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Norwich, Canterbury, etc., are well known; while allusion is made to the disposal of such edifices after the Expulsion in official documents preserved at the Record Office and at the British Museum (see the late Sir Lionel Abrahams's paper on *The Condition of the Jews in England in* 1290, in the second volume of the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*).

Reference has already been made to the Proclamations made by the sheriffs and other state officials in Synagogues on the sabbath day. Let another example be quoted; in the *Plea Rolls* of the Exchequer of the Jews in Holy Trinity Term, 1244, we find:

"Proclamation was made in the Synagogues of the Jews of London and Canterbury, that, if any Jew or Jewess have claim of debt to make against Nicholas de Gyrunde, he or she must be before the Justices on Holy Trinity quindene with chirographs, tallies, and other instruments, wherewith to make good the claim; writ

returned on the said day by the Sheriff, who notified that there was no Jew in his bailliwick that either did or could make any such claim against the said Nicholas."

There were also the special advisory Councils (*Beth-Din*), either as standing committees or as three members chosen *ad hoc* to consider particular cases.

In Mr. M. D. Davis's *Shetaroth*, interesting Hebrew documents are printed illustrating the functions of a Beth-Din. At Norwich, in 1249, a deed preserved at Westminster says :

" Betrothal Contract entered into between R. Yomtob ben Moses, father of the bride, and Solomon ben Eliab, the bridegroom.

" The father gives his daughter Zenna in marriage, promising a dowry of ten marks at the time of the nuptials, and a further sum of five marks a year later. He will provide both with week-day and Sabbath apparel, and give them ample board and lodging. He will support them an entire year in his house, furnish them with all they require, clothe them and ' shoe ' them, and discharge their talliage, if any be imposed on them during the aforesaid year. He will likewise engage a teacher to instruct the husband during the twelvemonth after marriage, etc.

" The monetary mulct for breaking the contract is five marks in either case. The Beth-Din, signing the deed, add the words, ' What we have done, we have sealed.' "

Again, a Starr dated eight days before the Feast of St. Peter, viz. Gule d'Aôut, 1266, reads :

" A Beth-Din is appointed to take into consideration the respective claims to property preferred by Almonda, widow of the deceased Jehoshayah ben Elias Cochab (Star) and her youthful son.

"Almonda, put upon oath, satisfies the tribunal that she has received nought of her late husband's property, and demands her widow's jointure. She is hereupon put in possession of a house and adjacent lands in Berstrete, [Norwich] in the parish of St. Michael, the boundaries of which are detailed. Almonda proceeds to sell the property.

"The record terminates with the names of several Hebrew witnesses, together with the names of the principal municipal authorities and burgesses, all of them being privy to the sale effected."

Of another (undated) Norwich deed, the following summary is given by Mr. Davis :—

"Appearing before the Beth-Din (three assessors) on a day not indicated, Miriam, daughter of Joseph, applies for her widow's jointure, derivable from the chattels left by her deceased husband, Jacob ben Joseph.

"The Beth-Din entertain the application, putting appellant on the 'oath of the law,' and eventually deliver judgment, according her certain lands in Mancroft Street, St. Peter's. Secure now in undisputed possession, the widow transfers the property to Menahem ben Jehoshua."

Another house in the same street is mentioned, in a Record of Testimony dated 1251 :

"The three sons of Gentil, viz. Jacob, Judah and Solomon, in the presence of witnesses, place upon record their resolve to hand over to their mother a certain sum at a given date. To accomplish this satisfactorily, they pledge in their hands the houses bequeathed them by their father with the proviso, that should each or any of them prove dilatory in his payments as agreed on, the mother will possess the power of mortgaging the property to make up the deficiency. The amount promised, five marks, is payable at the Tabernacle Holidays.

"The brothers likewise, severally and jointly, engage to find a 'nice, sweet partner' for their sister Sarah, within the next three years, present her with a dowry of ten marks, provide her with a trousseau, and defray all the expenses of her nuptials and the wedding feast. The 'big' house their father left them in Mancroft Street is likewise pledged to the mother, with permission to her to convert it into money, should any or each of the brothers prove derelict in carrying out his promise.

"The brothers also declare upon oath their willingness to do 'what the sages enjoin' with regard to making a provision for their mother, should she be reduced to poverty.

"The 'big' house in Mancroft Street was provisionally tenanted by the widow, whose sons now engage to let her have quiet possession, and not thrust any stranger on her against her will and acquiescence. If all these conditions be fulfilled, she is willing to relinquish all her rights upon the property left by her husband, and share it equally among her sons."

One more quotation of great interest summarises a Lincoln deed, dated 1271, and preserved in the archives of Westminster Abbey:

"Judah fil' Milo, Abraham fil' Josce, and Josce fil' Joshua, having received a preliminary 'God speed you' from a *minyan* of ten (no important religious task is performed even now without the presence of ten male adults), undertook the functions of a Beth-Din—a tribunal of three—to arrange, determine and attest the following transaction between Benjamin fil' Joce Yechiel on the one part, and Belle-Assez, the daughter of the 'Rav' Benedict, on the other. [This is the Jewess whose calamitous fate is mentioned above, and her father is Master Benedict, son of Master Moses, also already referred to.]

"Belle-Assez undertakes to marry her daughter to Aaron the son of Benjamin, giving as a wedding gift to the young bridegroom 20 marks sterling and a precious volume containing the whole 24 books of the Hebrew Bible, written on calf-skin, properly provided with punctuation, Targum, Haphtaroth, and Masora. Further details of this book are appended. The young folks being too youthful to marry yet, the father of the bridegroom undertakes to take charge of the book and to keep it for the 'use of the children.' Belle-Assez also delivers into the hands of the father these 20 marks sterling, to be lent out at interest to Gentiles, until Aaron is grown up. In lieu of this, at the period of Aaron's marriage with Judith, Benjamin undertakes to give them £20 sterling, and more if more has accrued out of the original 20 marks by way of interest in the meanwhile. Out of this sum also, he is to provide both bride and bridegroom with wedding apparel befitting their station, both Sabbath and week-day clothing, and to make the wedding feast, all out of the same proceeds. He has to put forth no further claim on Belaset, the mother.

"The wedding is arranged to take place in the month of Adar (end of February), 1275, four years later, unless some impediment arise, some impediment publicly well known. If such difficulty occur, the nuptials are to take place within one month after the lapse of such impediment. Benjamin mortgages all his chattels and property, real and personal, as a guarantee that he will perform his part of the covenant. Should the affair not proceed prosperously, Benjamin refusing at a future date to marry his son, he is to restore the precious volume or to retain it at his pleasure, giving 6 marks for it in exchange. With regard to the 20 marks, Benjamin is to be believed on oath as to what he might have gained by them in the course of time, and undertakes to refund one half of the amount, reserving the other half to himself. The parties each and either, then enter into a solemn compact and

oath of the law, holding a sacred emblem in their hands, and swear to perform their respective shares of the covenant. They thereupon place a partnership deposit or fine in the hands of the Beth-Din, amounting to 100*s.* sterling, with the following undertaking. Should Aaron ever refuse to marry Judith and settle on her £100, 'as is the custom of the isle,' or should the father refuse his consent to the match, the deposit is to go absolutely to the mother of the jilted bride, or *vice versâ* she is to lose it," etc.

The form of taking the oath may be noted here and in other cases. "Both the individuals (to quote from another Memorandum of Evidence) respectively holding a Scroll of the Law in their arms swear that they will be true and faithful to each other."

It is not, however, to be expected that we should find many references to the religious life of the Pre-Expulsion Jews in such records as remain of those times. The Exchequer Rolls speak chiefly of financial dealings; the Chronicles tell of outward historical events. No Jewish diarist or letter-writer has left us a contemporary account of internal and familiar affairs. Further, it used to be stated that no liturgical manuscript remained to tell us of the local ritual in the Synagogue services; but fortunately, a few years ago Dr. Kaufmann recognised the long-sought *Siddur* (Prayer-book) of England in a well-known MS. at Leipzic. This small parchment volume was compiled by Jacob ben Jehuda of London in 1287, three years before the Expulsion; it was a compendium of Ritual Law, etc., and was entitled *The Tree of Life*. It was found to contain the old Anglo-Jewish Ritual, and has been described in great detail by Dr. Kaufmann in

volume iv. of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. The Prayer-book is generally in accord with the contemporary French Form of Service, though there are various points of independence and divergence. It may be noticed that in a poetical addition to the Seder Evening Service in this Anglo-Jewish compilation, the author has added a stanza in which he introduces his own name, Jacob, acrostically.

It is of interest to remark, that in a show-case of the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, may be seen a leaf from a copy of this twelfth-century English *Siddur*, to which attention has been drawn by the Rev. Moses Abrahams. The MS. occurs in the *binding* of a Latin treatise, which formerly belonged to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds—from which town the Jews were expelled by Abbot Samson in the year 1190. Even in this fragment there are certain variations from contemporary uses across the Channel; a rubric, for instance, implying the custom of "falling on the face," occurs in part of the service on the Day of Atonement.

The ecclesiastical connexion of the Jews of England with their co-religionists in France is curiously illustrated by an event in the life of David of Oxford, a well-known Jew of the thirteenth century. He had divorced his wife Muriel, and that lady, failing to find redress in England, appealed—with the approval of some prominent citizens—to the Paris Consistory. But David obtained two writs from the English civil authorities restraining certain "Masters of the Law" from taking any proceedings against himself, and ordering the Jews who had moved in the matter "to appear before the Archbishop of York and others of

the King's Council, to show cause why they sent to France and to the Jews of France to hold a chapter concerning the Jews of England; and the Justices assigned to the custody of the Jews were ordered not to suffer David of Oxon to be coerced by the Jews to take or hold any woman to wife except at his own free will."

Although, as has been said, we seldom meet with contemporary allusions to the religious proceedings of the Pre-Expulsion Jews, yet that there was now and again a stirring among their ecclesiastical leaders may be illustrated by the following extract from a Papal letter (given in the *Catalogue of Papal Registers*, I. p. 491, and dated at the close of the year 1286), which reads as follows: "Mandate issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans to oppose by inhibitions and spiritual penalties, by sermons and other means, the books commonly called *Thalamud*, which the Jews of England are putting forth as of greater authority than the law of Moses, to the injury of the faithful and the apostacy of the converts from Judaism." The like mandate was sent to the Archbishop of York and his suffragans.

Readers of Mediæval Jewish history will remember that on several occasions earlier during the thirteenth century, as well as at somewhat later dates, public disputations were held in France and in Spain in connexion with the Talmud; and that various condemnatory edicts were issued by the ecclesiastical authorities.

CHAPTER VI

DOMUS CONVERSORUM

QUITE early in Anglo-Jewish history, efforts at conversion were made both by voice and by pen. Fortunately the coarse tone introduced into such controversy by William Rufus (to which allusion has already been made) was more than balanced by the geniality and courtesy shown by Gilbert Crispin of Westminster Abbey, whose letter to Archbishop Anselm (before 1096) introducing his *Disputation of a Jew with a Christian about the Christian Faith* was written in as friendly a spirit as was the treatise itself. Fortunately also the Jewish response to the conversations was likewise courteous and fair. A letter from the Archbishop himself about the treatment of a convert is equally pleasant. Another treatise—*Contra Perfidiam Judæorum*—composed, one hundred years later, by Peter of Blois, was not so attractive; but perhaps this is not surprising when it is pointed out by the Rev. Michael Adler (in his excellent account of the *Jews in Canterbury*) that the writer had been involved in financial transactions with those whom he attacks. Readers of the somewhat legendary story of the origins of the University of Cambridge will remember that it was this same Peter Blaesensis who, "in his

THE DOMUS CONVERSORUM AT OXFORD
FROM SKELTON'S *OXONIA ANTIQUA*

additament to the history of Ingulphus," gives an account of the alleged lectures given at Cottenham, at the beginning of the twelfth century, by Joffred, Abbot of Croyland, and Gislebert a fellow-monk. "The preaching of the latter was chiefly directed against the Jews, and by his means great numbers of those who dwelt at Cambridge and thereabouts were converted."

Passing to the other University, we read that, when the Dominicans came to Oxford in 1221, they established themselves in the very heart of the Jewish colony there. Now it happened that, in 1222, a certain deacon under romantic circumstances had embraced the faith of Abraham, and, having been ecclesiastically degraded, had been committed to the secular power and burnt (as Professor Maitland reminded us in a characteristic essay). The Dominicans keenly threw themselves into an attempt to convert their Jewish neighbours, and so successful are they said to have been, that a home for the reception of converts was opened in Fish Street, on the site of the present Town Hall. An engraving of this *Domus Conversorum* (which building was taken down about the middle of the eighteenth century) is here reproduced from a plate in Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua*.

It may be added that some few years previously, in 1213, as we learn from Stowe's *Chronicles*, a hospital for Jewish converts had been opened by Richard, Prior of Bermondsey, in the neighbourhood of his monastery.

In the year 1232, a more celebrated and permanent *Domus Conversorum* was founded by Henry III. in New Street (now Chancery Lane) in London. Later

on the King assigned 700 marks yearly for the sustenance therein of converts from Judaism to Christianity. The Foundation Charter is given in Holinshed; members were soon received; later on a custos (warden or keeper) was appointed, and the home thus established was carried on (as we shall see) for many centuries. The history of the building and its inmates after the Expulsion will be detailed in a subsequent chapter.

It may be stated that elaborate accounts of this *Domus Conversorum* have been written by Mr. W. J. Hardy in his *Rolls Court*, by Mr. C. T. Martin in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England, and by the Rev. Michael Adler in the fourth volume of the same publications; as well as by Mr. Lucien Wolf in the *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition Papers*.

The names of many of the converts who were inmates of the *Inn* from its foundation in 1232 to the Expulsion in 1290 may be seen in the above-mentioned volumes; a long list of others is given by Prynne, and a still longer roll might be compiled from the *Patent Rolls*, the *Close Rolls*, and other documents. And this is the more remarkable, because such conversion involved the forfeiture of the possessions, or the greater part thereof, of those who went over; and because (as again may be noted from various records) their fellow-Jews greatly resented the change.

Among the converts perhaps the most conspicuous was Elias le Eveske, the fourth of the Arch-Presbyters. He was received into the Christian Church in 1259; but this was two years after he had been deprived of his office. His property was forfeited, and, for a

consideration, assigned by the King to Master Elias, the son of Master Moses. Matthew of Paris, the historian, gives an extraordinary account of his conversion; and records a confession which he is said to have made, and which, it is much to be hoped, is not true.

The same chronicler, by-the-by, in a MS. preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, accompanies his description of the church attached to the *Domus Conversorum* by a drawing probably from his own hand.

Besides those thus specially housed in this London establishment, we read that "there being many Jewish converts in England for whom the King by reason of his wars had not provided sufficient maintenance, he (Henry III.) thereupon, out of his Christian care to support them, issued these ensuing writs to the Abbots, Priors, and Converts of most religious Houses through England, to entertain and receive one or more of them for two years, and to allow them a daily pension or Corrody not exceeding such a sum; wherein the names of each male and female Jewish convert sent to every house are thus recorded in the Fine Rolls of this year (1255)." See the *Fines Roll*, 39 Hen. III. (m. 13 d., etc.), where the names of nearly 250 such converts are detailed.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS (1290)

It has already been stated that the Jews were expelled from England by Edward I. in the year 1290. It may, however, be well to give a more detailed account of that remarkable historical event, and, having recorded the facts, to make some comments thereon.

These are the facts. In the summer of 1290, Edward issued an order that all Jews should leave the kingdom by All Saints' Day (November 1). The King made proclamation in a series of writs addressed to the sheriffs of various counties, commanding that no one should presume to hurt them, or take from them those goods which he had allowed them to keep; but, on the contrary, furnish them with a guard that might secure their passage to London, in order for transportation; provided likewise, that, before their removal, they returned all their pledges, to such as were willing to redeem them. Special safeguards were also granted to individual Jews. Other writs were issued to the authorities of the Cinque Ports, commanding them to treat them civilly, and to be moderate in freightage fees, etc. As a matter of fact, the majority of the Jews seem to have arranged their departure for St. Denys's Day,

October 9. The number of those who were thus banished from the realm is variously said to be from 15,000 to 17,000; the *Flores Historiæ*, a work attributed to Matthew of Paris, is more definite, asserting precisely that 16,511 Jews were expelled.

Madox, in his *History of the Exchequer*, says that "by the expulsion of the Jews (which was then commonly called *exilium Judæorum*) many escheats both of lands and chattels came into the King's hands." Various Chests, or *Archæ*, containing deeds and documents, were forwarded by the sheriffs to Westminster, where some of them may still be seen in the Triforium of the south transept of the Abbey (the Star Chamber); while at the Record Office and in the British Museum (among the *Lansdowne Manuscripts*) may be found copies of writs and inquisitions as to the escheats mentioned above, and as to grants made by the King to various recipients. The late Sir Lionel Abrahams had an excellent paper on the *Condition of the Jews at the Time of their Expulsion in 1290*, with detailed and interesting records of their bonds in money and coin and wool, of their houses and lands, of their synagogues, and so on.

One incident in connexion with the Expulsion shows how, in spite of the royal proclamations for the safeguarding of the exiles, popular care was not so conspicuous. "The grievous story (says Tovey) is given by my Lord Coke. He says that the richest of the *Jewes* having imbark'd themselves, with their Treasure, in a tall Ship of great Burthen; when it was under Sail and gotten down the *Thames*, towards the Mouth of the River, beyond *Quinborough*, the Master of it, confederating with some of the Mariners,

invented a Stratagem to destroy them. And to bring the same to pass, commanded to cast Anchor, and rode at the same time till the Ship, at low Water, lay upon the Sands; and then, pretending to walk on Shore for his health and Diversion, invited the *Jews* to go along with him; which they, nothing suspecting, readily consented to; and continu'd there till the Tide began to come in again: which as soon as the Master perceiv'd, he *privily* stole away, and was again drawn up into the Ship, as had been before concerted. But the *Jews*, not knowing the Danger, continu'd to amuse themselves as before. Till at length, observing how fast the Tide came in upon them, they crowded all to the Ship Side, and call'd out for Help. When he, like a Profane Villain, instead of giving them Assistance, scoffingly made Answer that they ought rather to call upon *Moses*, by whose Conduct their Fathers past thro' the *Red Sea*, and who was still able to deliver *them* out of those rageing Floods which came in upon them: and so, without saying any more, leaving them to the Mercy of the Waves, they all miserably perished. But the Fact coming, somehow or other, to be known, the Miscreants were afterwards try'd for it, by the *Justices Itinerant* in *Kent*, convicted of Murder, and hang'd."

Across the Channel, the Exiles who reached the Continent are lost sight of; though in a Paris Tallage Roll, dated 1294, may be noted the names of Bonami lenglois, Jovin lenglois, Mosse lenglois and Rose lenglishe (*Revue des études juives*, No. 1).

Such are the ultimate facts of the Expulsion; but much discussion has arisen as to the motives which led to this momentous movement. Some time ago

there was a controversy between Dr. Adler and Goldwin Smith, the professor asserting that the Jews were banished in consequence of the people having found the oppression of their usurers intolerable; while the Chief Rabbi said that religious fanaticism was the primary cause of their expatriation. Lately a young lawyer in America, bearing an honoured name—Mr. Frank Schechter—argued that they were expelled simply as Jews, Edward I. brutally discarding a diminishing resource, as he knew that other usurers were at hand. This was in opposition to the "equality-theory" of the distinguished veteran, Dr. Joseph Jacobs, who maintained that the King banished the Jewish usurers by a self-denying ordinance in the interests of religion and political science.

The question is really very complicated, for not only did the religious aspect introduce bigotry and fanaticism; and not only did the economic consideration bring forward the subject of usury; and not only was the constitutional point of view prominent, as to the relationship between the Crown, the Barons, the local authorities and the Jews; but the social aspect, the habits, the appearance, and so on, of the strangers in the land have to be noted.

With regard to the King himself, his training and his character should be remembered; his father's outlook from the financial and from the religious points of view; the dealings of his mother, Eleanor of Provence, whom Bishop Stubbs called "the steady enemy" of the Jews; the views of his wife, Eleanor of Castile, who was equally inimical. The two royal ladies did not long outlive the Expulsion,

Edward's consort dying within a month of the exile, and his mother passing away within eight or nine months of that event.

Reference may also be made to Simon de Montfort, the uncle and tutor of Edward I., who was as relentless to the Jews as his father had been to the Albigensian heretics at an earlier date. This nobleman, as Lord of Leicester, had issued in the year 1253 a proclamation to that borough, saying: "To all who may hear or see the present page, health in the Lord! Know all of you that I, for the good of my soul and the souls of my ancestors and successors, have granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed, on behalf of me and my heirs for ever, to my burgesses of Leicester and their heirs, that no Jew or Jewess in my time, or in the time of my heirs to the end of the world, shall inhabit, or remain, or obtain a residence in Leicester," etc.

It may be added that the renowned Bishop Grosseteste (who had been Archdeacon of Leicester), hearing that there was a likelihood of this charter being altered, wrote favouring its continuance.

There had been many previous examples of expulsion in various parts, and of threats of banishment. Three times the Jews had been expelled from France; Queen Eleanor (Dowager) had banished the Jews from her dower-town of Cambridge, etc., in 1275 (in which year, by-the-by, there was a menace of a general expulsion). Edward I. had himself banished the Jews from Guienne, when he "took the Cross" for the second time. In 1286 the Israelites in England only escaped banishment by paying a heavy fine.

That Parliament acquiesced in the King's action

is shown by the grants of "fifteenths" and "tenths" which they allowed to Edward.

Varied, therefore, were the considerations which formed "the motives" of King Edward I. in his expulsion of the Jews; but his orders on behalf of the safe-conduct of the exiles certainly stand to his credit.

It may be remarked, in conclusion, that perhaps the financial needs of the monarchy led to the political freedom of the people, and this in its turn helped towards the re-admission of the Jews into our country.

II

THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY

CHURCH FOR CONVERTED JEWS.

(From a MS. of Matthew Paris, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.)

CHAPTER I

THE DOMUS CONVERSORUM AFTER THE EXPULSION

We have seen, in the First Part, that the *Domus Conversorum*, or *Converts' Inn*, was established by King Henry III. in the year 1232, its site occupying part of the present Record Office. During the more than half a century which intervened between its foundation and the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290, a number of converts resided within its precincts; while at the date just mentioned about eighty of them were in receipt of the royal bounty, which amounted to 1½*d.* a day for each man and 1*d.* for a woman.

The Institution did not cease at the date of the Banishment, nor even at the death of the last of the occupants of that period (which death, by-the-by, that of Claricia of Exeter, did not occur till the year 1356), but was continued down the centuries. We shall see that converted Jews were from time to time admitted into the *Inn*, and that this was always the case until after the Re-settlement, although now and then the inmates were very few and for one or two periods there was no one in residence. It is true that the Court took some interest in the converts (as is evinced from the fact that the Christian names of a number of them—Edward, Eleanor, Isabella, Henry, Elizabeth,

etc.—tell of royal sponsorship); but something of the long survival was perhaps due to the number of officials—the warden, the two chaplains (with at times two convert chaplains), the clerk, etc. The wardenship was afterwards joined with the Mastership of the Rolls, and was at times occupied by distinguished men—such as William de Ayremine (1317–1324), afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Thomas Cromwell (1532–1540); not to mention here modern Masters of the Rolls.

With regard to the history of the converts themselves, there is fortunately an abundance of detail—in the Close and Patent Rolls, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and other records, as well as (since 1331) "in a most valuable series of documents that pertain exclusively to the House of Converts (*Exchequer Accounts*) and that are carefully preserved in their original skin pouches at the Rolls Office." These words are quoted from Mr. Adler, who has carefully examined these documents and described them in the able paper before mentioned. They show the orders of the King for the admission of a convert, sometimes adding personal details of an interesting nature; the statement of the annual expenses of the keeper (or Master of the Rolls); and a large number of the annual receipts given by the converts for their pension of £2 5*s*. 7½*d*.

There are also records of several complaints made by the inmates, and of official inquiries held. In the very year of the Expulsion, for instance, there was an appointment as to the collection of the *chevage*, or poll-tax, levied upon the English Jews, from the age of twelve, for the support of the converts in the *Domus*.

This source of revenue, of course, failed with the Expulsion. The next year (1280), certain Rules for the government of the *House* were issued. In 1308 Commissioners were appointed to inquire into affairs, and a report was made, which showed that in 1280 there had been 97 inmates; that 17 men and 17 women had died, while 4 men and 8 women had disappeared.

Mr. Adler gives the names of most of those who were connected with the *Domus*; some of their stories are interesting. Some who were elected do not seem to have gone into residence, or to have remained for more than a short time; among them certain Spanish Jews. Near the end of the fourteenth century, a Jewess was admitted who is styled Elizabeth daughter of Rabbi Moses, *episcopus Judæorum* (or *levesque des Jues de France et dalmaigne*); but this title is doubtless a clerk's error for the surname Bishop; she afterwards married a tailor named David Pole, continuing, however, to reside in the Home. In 1413, to take another example, Henry of Woodstock joined the five inmates, bringing with him his two sons, one of whom (Martin) lived in the Domus for no less than fifty-five years. We must pass on to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in whose days—in the year 1578—there entered one Jehooda Menda, from the Barbary States. He had been living in London for some few years, and had been baptized in 1577 in one of the City churches; at the ceremony Nathanael Menda (the assumed Christian name will be noticed) "read aloud in Spanish a statement of the reasons which had led him to accept Christianity. Among a long array of arguments, he pointed out

that only in a Protestant country like England was it possible to attract Jews to the Church, as the idolatry existing in other lands was a hindrance to their desire for baptism. The baptizing of Menda was followed by the delivery of a powerful sermon by John Foxe, the author of the *Book of Martyrs*. The sermon, which was in Latin, must have occupied at least four hours in delivery," and was afterwards repeated privately to Sir Francis Walsingham. English versions of Menda's confession and of Foxe's sermon were subsequently published. This convert resided in Chancery Lane for some thirty years.

Another important inmate of the *Domus Conversorum* was Philip Ferdinandus, a Polish Jew, who had been converted to Roman Catholicism, and had afterwards become a Protestant. He for a while studied and taught at Oxford, and then proceeded to Cambridge in 1596, where he published a curious book, *Hæc sunt verba Dei, etc.*, containing a Latin version of the 613 Precepts of the Mosaic Law, with extracts from Rabbinical Literature. Shortly afterwards he entered the *Domus*, where he signed his first receipt both in English and (punctuated) Hebrew, adding the word *neophyta* in Greek characters. His friend Joseph Scaliger subsequently obtained for him an appointment at Leyden. An inmate who entered in 1603, Elizabeth Furdinando, may have been the widow of Philip who died in 1600. Jacob Wolfgang was another Hebrew scholar who resided in Chancery Lane early in the seventeenth century.

The records of the Home are scanty from this date onwards, though there are references to one or two petitioners; and so late as the year 1717 a

converted Jew, Henry Cotingo, made application for a grant from the Master of the Rolls.

It is not necessary here to allude to the demolition of the *Domus Conversorum*, the houses and the chapel, nor to refer to the new buildings of the Record Office in Chancery Lane. The yearly grants were transferred to the salaries of officials of the Rolls chapel. When Sir John (afterwards Lord) Romilly became Master of the Rolls in 1851, his patent of appointment still granted him "the custody of House, or Hospital, of Converts"; but these words were not used for his successor, Sir George Jessel, in 1873, otherwise (as Mr. Michael Adler remarks with a quiet smile) "we should have had the remarkable paradox of a Jew holding the position of Keeper of the House of Converted Jews."

CHURCH FOR CONVERTED JEWS.
(From a MS. of Matthew Paris.)

CHAPTER II

JEWS IN ENGLAND DURING THE MIDDLE PERIOD?

THE heading to this Section is purposely queried. It is often asserted that Jews were frequently to be found in England between the Expulsion and the Return. Mr. Isaac D'Israeli, for instance, says, in his *Genius of Judaism:* "My researches might show that they were not unknown in this country." But while the writings of the author of *Curiosities of Literature* are always interesting, they are sometimes vague. Other writers are more definite; *e.g.* Mr. (now Sir) Sidney Lee, in his paper read before the New Shakspere Society, and Mr. Lucien Wolf, in that which he printed in connexion with the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition. Their instances will be considered, and we think it will be found that in almost every case the visitor was a converted Jew, or a Crypto-Jew, or was disguised, or had a special royal permit. Take the example of Joachim Gaunse, about whom Dr. Israel Abrahams has written an interesting account in Vol. IV. of the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society. He was engaged for some years, from 1581 onwards, as a mining expert at Keswick; but no one recognised him as a Jew. Some time later, however, we learn from quite other sources that Gaunse was at

Bristol, when a minister there, the Rev. Richard Curteys, entered into conversation with him, addressing him in Hebrew, and found that he was an unconverted Jew. Thereupon he was taken before the local magistrates, and by them sent in custody to the Lords of the Privy Council in London. Now, had we only the set of papers relating to Keswick, we should either have known nothing of him except as to his scientific abilities, or merely the fact that he was a Jew might somehow or other have subsequently leaked out; but the other documentary evidence shows that the accidental discovery of his religious opinions at once led to his arrest and removal.

It may be that, in some of the other cases to which attention has been drawn by Mr. Wolf and other writers, if the full circumstances were known, a similar or a more drastic method might have been found of dealing with a Jew in England.

During the period under consideration—from 1290 to 1656—it may be repeated "no unconverted Jew could legally enter England."

Let us turn to the instances which have been brought forward. Reference need not again be made to any of those converted Jews who were admitted into the Domus Conversorum, except to notice two or three cases where those received as inmates had already been living in England for some time. Such were Johanna and her daughter Alice, of Dartmouth, who, in the year 1409, appeared with a royal order for admission. Mr. Adler admits that they may have been landed at the Devonshire seaport. Some again are said to have been absent for a period from the Home; now, in the case of one such—Margery

of Stamford—we accidentally learn that "she had been very ill, and unable to answer to her name."

Let us consider the cases of certain medical men. We learn from the *Close Rolls*, under date December 10, 1309, that the King applied to John, Duke of Brabant, husband of the Princess Margaret, requesting that Master Elias, a Jew dwelling in his land, and apparently alluded to elsewhere as a physician, that "he may come to England to the King, at the desire of the latter to speak with the King concerning his affairs." Again, we read that, in the reign of Henry, royal permission was given to certain Jewish doctors to visit London, to attend the Lady Alice, wife of Sir Richard Whittington, the celebrated Lord Mayor. And so, in the year 1410, an Italian Jew, Elias Sabot, was allowed by the King to practise medicine in any part of the realm.

These royal permits to medical Jews are exceptions which must be classed by themselves.

A MS., no longer in existence, asserted that six Jews came to London in 1310 to obtain a revocation of the Edict of Expulsion. They came apparently under the wing of a medical man; but no success seems to have rewarded the effort.

In 1320 we read that a tax of a farthing in the pound was levied on all benefices in the Southern Ecclesiastical Province for the maintenance of a converted Jew who was then teaching Hebrew at Oxford, the Council of Vienne having decreed that there should be two lectures in Hebrew, etc., at certain Universities. Here we have not only a convert, but one sanctioned by ecclesiastical and educational authorities.

To take a financial rumour. It is asserted that some of the so-called "Lombard" money-lenders in England in 1376 were Jews. But the Commons gave the alarm!

It is not a matter of surprise that, after the great expulsion of Jews from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, there are reports of the arrival of some of them in England. But in any case they would be Marranos, and difficult to detect. When it is added that "they built synagogues in London," etc., it is needless to discuss the rumours any further.

The report that Henry VIII. consulted certain learned Jews in connexion with the divorce is not unlikely; and the converted Jew, Mark Raphael, undoubtedly accepted the royal invitation to visit England.

In the year 1550, a physician named Ferdinando Lopus, who is said by the chronicler Wriothesley to have been a Jew, was staying in London, and escaped punishment for an offence owing to Spanish and Court influence; but he was forthwith "banished from the realms of England for ever."

In Elizabeth's reign, there is the well-known instance of another Dr. Lopus, or Roderigo Lopez, a doctor of some repute in London, who became, in 1586, chief physician to the Queen. He was some few years afterwards accused of treason, and Coke, who prosecuted, characteristically termed him "a vile Jew," etc. On the scaffold, he declared himself a Christian; though his widow, Sarah of Antwerp, was doubtless a Jewess.

A well-known convert, John Emmanuel Tremellius, was welcomed during the same reign, holding among

other appointments that of Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, speaks of his learning.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, there are several cases of Jewish converts being pensioned in England; while Mr. Lucien Wolf has described quite a colony of so-called Spanish Roman Catholics, who were probably Marranos and also doubtless secretly practised the Jewish faith in London in the early days of the Commonwealth.

APPENDIX A

THE JEW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE (I)

Not the least interesting of the nine and twenty Pilgrims, who set out from the Tabard Inn in Southwark, was the Prioresse, cleped Madame Eglentine—whom Chaucer described in often-quoted lines. Her *Canterbury Tale*—which does not need to be retold by Dryden or by Wordsworth—transfers a Western story to the East ;—

> " Ther was in Asia, in a great citee,
> Amonges Cristen folk a Jewerie,
> Sustened by a lord of that contree,
> For foule usure, and luere of vilanie,
> Hateful to Crist, and to His Compagnie."

The poet tells us of a " litel clergeon " attending a song-school, who, when only " seven year of age," learns to love and sing " O alma Redemptoris mater " as he passes along the street.

> " Our firste fo, the serpent Sathanas,
> That hath in Jewes herte his waspes nest,"

tempted the Jews to cut the throat of the innocent, and cast him into a pit. Here, however, he still continues to sing, and his mother—" this neue Rachel "—hence discovers the body. The grain which the Virgin Mary had placed upon his tongue having been removed, the child is buried " in a tombe of marble stones."

The last stanza is addressed to " yonge Hew " ; and

so we are brought back from the East to Lincoln Minster, and reminded of many other Ballads about "Little St. Hugh of Lincoln."

This terrible story was unfortunately believed by the people, and was told in rhyme—in French and in English—again and again. Sometimes it was styled "Sir Hew," sometimes "the Jew's Daughter."

John Gower, the friend of Chaucer, in his *Confessio Amantis* (lib. vii. 3207, etc.) has a tale entitled "The Jew and the Pagan." He also has a section on the "Belief of the Jews," while he gives rhymed versions of the "Tale of Jephthah's Daughter" and the story of "Saul and the Witch." Another legend which took the popular imagination and which was not limited to one locality or to one age, was that of *The Wandering Jew*. The chroniclers told it in prose—Matthew Paris, for instance, in 1228 gives it as he heard it from an Armenian bishop who visited St. Alban's; and his account, as written in a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is accompanied by a sketch, from the chronicler's own pen, of Joseph Cartaphilus, as the Wanderer was then called. Rhymesters sang of him in ballads, and some of these printed sheets also give their illustrations, as may be seen in the collections in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College. Webster had perhaps been reading the tract entitled *The Wandering Jew telling fortunes to Englishmen*, when he chose the title for his *White Devil*. And so, Judæus ille immortalis goes on and on down to Wordsworth and Shelley, where he appears as Ahasuerus, and to Marion Crawford's *A Roman Singer*. "C'est le juif errant qui passe," says the Picardy peasant, when a rushing gale wakes his children.

But we must return to the Middle Period.

A paper read before the New Shakspere Society by Mr. (now Sir) Sidney Lee, entitled "Elizabethan England and the Jews," has been referred to in the last section.

It treats exhaustively of Marlowe's *Barabbas* and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, and the predecessors and the successors of those celebrated dramas. We are reminded that Stephen Gosson, as early as 1579, refers to a play called *The Jew*, the plot of which represents "the greediness of worldly choosers and the bloody minds of usurers." Edmund Spenser, writing to the pedantic Gabriel Harvey, whom he honoured with his friendship, signs himself "he that is fast bound unto thee in more obligations than any merchant of Italy to any Jew there." In 1584, a so-called comedy, entitled *The Three Ladies of London*, by Robert Wilson, introduces—not unfavourably— a Jewish creditor named Gerontus.

We come now to Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, written about 1590. It is not necessary here to describe this well-known play, which became very popular on the stage and on the bookstall. Barabbas, as Sir Sidney Lee says, is "for the most part a brutal caricature"; and his daughter Abigail, though accorded the traditional beauty, has not the charm of Jessica. The hero, boasting of Jewish wealth, names some of his co-religionists; but a hash is made of the names, "Kirriah Jairim, the great Jew of Greece," coming first. Doubtless the place-name, Kirjath Jearim, was in the poet's mind; but Hebrew names were ever a difficulty, and so was the spelling thereof. Just as Sir Walter Scott (who by-the-by uses the same name for a native of Lombardy) speaks of "Rabbi Jacob *ben Tudela*" in *Ivanhoe*, so we may refer to Prynne, who copying Latin records naturally makes many mistakes, and referring to his list of the Jews summoned to the so-called Parliament at Worcester, it may be noted that Tovey remarks thereon: "There are about a hundred names of those Persons; but, as they make but indifferent Musick, I shan't repeat 'em."

We turn to Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, which was written about 1597–8. Again it is not necessary to dwell upon the drama itself, nor to refer to the sources

to which the great author is supposed to be indebted. Compared with Barabbas, Shylock is human; while his daughter is both beautiful and engaging. It may be added, with regard to *The Jew of Malta* and the *Merchant of Venice*, that, while in neither case is the Jew likely to be popular, yet doubtless prejudice against them was greatly intensified by the get-up, the gestures and the tones of the actors.

In various plays, at about this period—such as *Selimus*, *Machiavellus*, *Jack Drume's Entertainement*, etc.—there are Jewish characters; and in still more there are incidental references to Jews. Much has been made, for instance, of a phrase in a play, published in 1609, called *Every Woman in her Humour*, which runs: "You may hire a good suit at a Jew's or a broker's; it is a common thing, and especially among the common people."

It may be added that in Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*, chapter xiii., there is an account of how Wayland Smith buys a certain ingredient from a Jewish chemist, named Zacharias Yoglan, who had been in business in London for some thirty years before the date referred to (*c.* 1575).

With regard to these allusions—the suit at the Jew's and the ingredients at Yoglan's—it may be remarked that they are both quotations from works of fiction, and that no particular attention need be paid to them—for it is the business of authors to supply vivid incidents in an apparently casual fashion. Though whether Sir Walter is very successful in the language which he puts into the mouth of his Jew, including such oaths as "Holy Elias!" and "Mein God!" is a matter of question.

If attention were being drawn to references to Jews in religious works or sacred poems, some of the verses in George Herbert's *Temple* might be mentioned, especially his pathetic lines on "The Jews."

Has it been noticed that a special edition of the *Merchant of Venice* was published in the year 1652? What was the reason for this issue at a time when the

flags had long ceased to fly over the theatres on the Bankside? May it not have been that some editor or some bookseller who objected to the anticipated re-admission of the Jews into England wished to revive the prejudice excited by the Shylock scenes? To that re-admission we now turn.

III

THE RETURN AND THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

CROMWELL AND THE JEWS

We now commence a new department of this history. The last four chapters have dealt with "the Middle Period," and we have to look back to remember the time of the Expulsion of the Jews.

But let any one turn to the *Anglia Judaica*, or the *History and Antiquities of the Jews in England*, published in the year 1738 by D'Blossiers Tovey, LL.D., and Principal of New Inn Hall in Oxford; a work which, in spite of its (unacknowledged) indebtedness to Prynne and others, is yet of much interest, and of use in the subject with which we are dealing.

There it will be noticed that on one and the same page, viz. p. 258, the author passes—see his margin—from *Edward I.* to *Oliver Cromwell!* from 1290 to 1648! more than three and a half centuries!

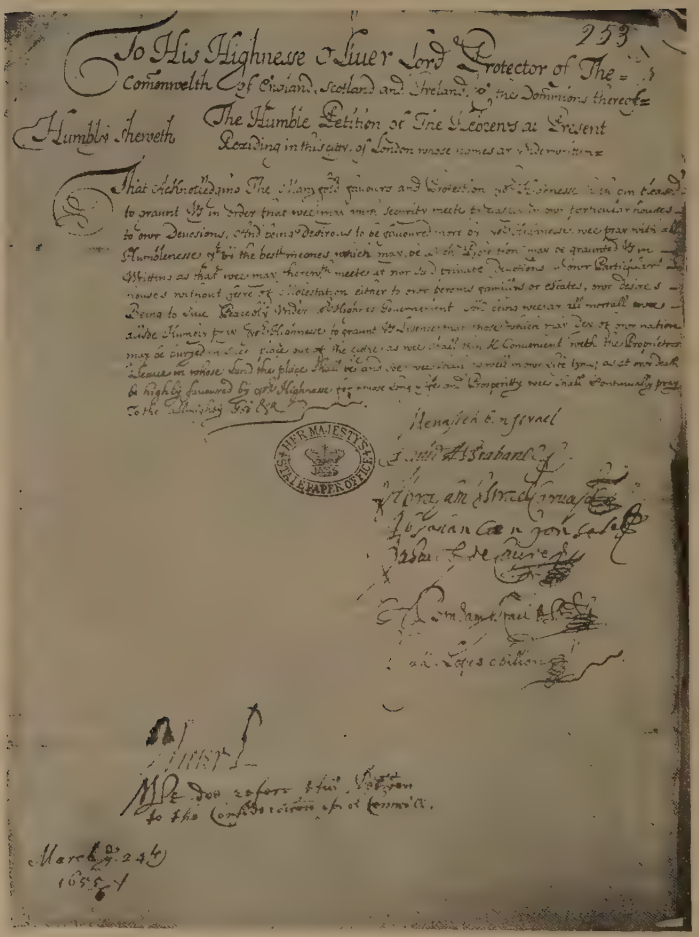
During that period, as we have been maintaining, no unconverted Jew could legally enter England. Certain converts were admitted and even housed; some Jewish medical men were here, as elsewhere, exceptionally treated and even welcomed; some Marranos and other Crypto-Jews occasionally are found in London and other places; a Jew may have obtained a footing for a while disguised and *incognito;*

but otherwise there was a barrier always existing from the end of the thirteenth century till the second half of the seventeenth century, from the reign of Edward I. till the days of the Commonwealth.

Efforts for the re-admission of the Jews were now being made in various directions: there was, in 1649, a Petition from two Amsterdam inhabitants to Fairfax; many of the Crypto-Jews who were living in London were anxious to throw off their Roman Catholic mask; and so on. Oliver Cromwell was, of course, the hope of the advocates of the Return, and with him the chief power rested. There are strange rumours as to the glances cast towards the Protector by the Jews: we read, for instance, in Raguenet's *Histoire d'Oliver Cromwell*:—

"The Asiatick Jews, much about the time of Manasseh's coming into England, sent hither, likewise, the noted Rabbi Jacob ben Azahel, with several others of his nation, to make private inquiry whether Cromwell was not that Messiah whom they had long expected. Which deputies, upon their arrival, pretending other business, were several times indulged the favour of a private audience with him. And as one of them proposed buying the Hebrew books and manuscripts belonging to the University of Cambridge, in order to have an opportunity, under pretence of viewing them, to inquire among his relatives in Huntingdonshire, where he was born, whether any of his ancestors could be proved of Jewish extraction."

Another report was that the Jews had made an offer to purchase St. Paul's Cathedral and the Bodleian. These rumours were doubtless made to prejudice the Jewish cause—which, as we shall see, had many opponents.


253
To His Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector of The
Comonwelth of England, Scotland and Ireland, & the Dominions thereof
Humbly Sheweth The Humble Petition of the Jewes at Present
Residing in this city of London whose names are vnderwritten

FACSIMILE OF THE JEWS' FIRST PETITION TO OLIVER CROMWELL

p. 69

In October, 1655, a distinguished Jew, Menasseh ben Israel, arrived in London from Amsterdam, on the invitation of Cromwell. His brother-in-law (David Abarvanel) Dormido, an important Marrano, had lately paid a visit to England and presented certain petitions to the Protector. Menasseh also presented a petition and his "Humble Addresses," advancing reasons for the re-admission of the Jews. These Cromwell laid before the Council of State; shortly afterwards recommending the calling of a Conference—to which were appointed a number of important statesmen, soldiers, lawyers, citizens and divines. The Whitehall Conference met on December 4, 1655—and included, besides Cromwell himself, the Lord President (Henry Laurence), Major-General Lambert, Sir John Glynne, Lord Chief Justice, and William Steele, Lord Chief Baron, the Lord Mayor and various city colleagues, the Master of the Charter House, with some distinguished scholars from Oxford and Cambridge, and several well-known preachers. The lawyers gave their opinion that "there was no law which forbad the Jews' return into England"; but there was great opposition—including that of the city representatives. Cromwell, at length, took the matter into his own hands, and dismissed the Conference.

Thomas Carlyle's description of this Conference is so characteristic of that writer, that it must be given here, even at the risk of slight repetition :—

"Wednesday, December 12th, 1655. This day 'in a withdrawing-room at Whitehall,' presided over by his Highness, who is much interested in the matter, was held 'a Conference concerning the Jews,'—of which the

modern reader too may have heard something. Conference, one of Four Conferences, publicly held, which filled all England with rumour in those old December days, but must now contract themselves into a point for us. Highest official Persons, with Lord Chief Baron, Lord Chief Justices, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scripture-prophecy, and every source of light for the human mind, concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near Four-hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is 'Manasseh Ben Israel,' a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing. And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake; and says one witness [Sir Paul Rycaut], 'I never heard a man speak so well.' His Highness was eager for the scheme, if so might be. But the Scripture prophecies, Law learnings and lights of the human mind seemed to point another way; Zealous Manasseh went home again; the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of his Highness; and the matter contracts itself into a point for us."

Amongst those who worked against the Re-admission was William Prynne, the celebrated controversialist, sometime Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. He gives the following vivid account of his interview with Philip Nye, one of the preacher-members of the Conference.

"In my return homewards that day (7th Dec. 1655), by the garden-wall at Whitehall, Mr. Nye, the Minister, going very fast, there overtook, and saluting me by name,

presently demanded this unexpected question of me; whether there were any Law of England against bringing in the Jews amongst us? for the Lawyers had newly delivered their opinions that there was no Law against it. To which I answered, that the Jews were in the year 1290, all banished out of England, by Judgment and Edict of the King and Parliament, as a great grievance, never to return again: . . . that it was now a very ill time to bring in the Jews, when the people were so dangerously and generally bent to Apostacy, and all sorts of Novelties and Errors in Religion; and would sooner turn Jews, than the Jews Christians. He answered, He thought it was true, and was sorry he could not discourse longer with me, the Committee about the Jews being sate, and staying for him as he feared. Whereupon, as he was turning in towards Whitehall Gate, I told him, the Jews had been formerly great clippers and forgers of money, and had crucified three or four children in England at least, which were principal causes of their banishment. To which he replied, that the crucifying of children was not fully charged on them by our Historians, and would easily be wiped off. Whereto I answered, He was much mistaken: and so we parted. As I kept on my way, in Lincolnes-Inne-Fields, passing by seven or eight maimed soldiers on stilts, who begged of me; I heard them say one to another, We must now all turn Jews, and there will be nothing left for the poor. And not far from them another company of poor people just at Lincolnes-Inne back Gate cried aloud to each other: They are all turned Devils already, and now we must all turn Jews. Which unexpected concurrent providences and speeches, made such an impression on my spirit, that before I could take any rest that night, I perused most of the passages in our English Histories concerning the Jews carriage in England, and some of their misdemeanours in other parts to refresh my memory, and satisfie my judgement; making some collections out of them, which after I enlarged and digested

into this ensuing *Demurrer*, with as much speed as the sharpness of the season would permit; and was induced to publish it (knowing no particular discourse of this subject extant) for the general information, satisfaction of others."

The treatise here referred to was the First Part of a "Short Demurrer to the Jews long discontinued barred Remitter into England," wherein (as in the Second Part), though Prynne is bitter and prejudiced, yet he gives an enormous number of interesting extracts from the Public Records regarding the Jews before the Expulsion.

But to return to Cromwell: the Protector, disappointed at the results of the Conference, gave personal assurances to the Jews as to their protection, as to their worship, etc. He financially assisted Menasseh ben Israel, who had returned to Amsterdam, also disappointed.

Permission was granted to the Jews—with whom were reckoned the Spanish Crypto-Jews who had now proclaimed their old faith—to open a burial-place in Mile End; the lease whereof is preserved in the Bevis Marks Synagogue.

Oliver Cromwell passed away on September 3, 1658, and before long Charles II. returned to the land of his birth.

CHAPTER II

AFTER THE RESTORATION

THE cause of the exiled Stuarts had been supported by certain Jews, such as the Da Costas and Coronel Chacon; and when Charles II. came back to England they had their reward; the latter, for instance, a convert, was knighted. On the other hand, Antonio Carvajal and others had identified themselves with the Commonwealth. On the Restoration, however, the easy-going monarch allowed the Jews much of the security they had lately been receiving. It is true that a London Alderman, Thomas Violet by name, had lately endeavoured to stir up the legal authorities against the Israelites; and the attempt was renewed in 1660 with the support of other members of the City Corporation. But the Jews made a counter petition, and no action was taken. Indeed, more of them were admitted as actual citizens. Certain cases of conversion are also recorded; Rabbi Moses Sciallitti, from Florence, was publicly baptized at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on Trinity Sunday, 1663, the Bishop of Chester, Dr. Collins, of King's College, Cambridge, and Lady Huntingdon standing as god-parents. A *Letter*, written by him, was published "declaring the reasons of his conversion, and exhorting others to embrace the Christian Faith." The Bursar's

Books of Trinity College, Cambridge, speak of certain payments made to Senior *Paul* Sciallitti (the Christian name adopted will be noticed). Similar payments were granted (also in the years immediately following the Restoration) to a "converted Jew Michaell," as well as to "Abendana the Jew," *i.e.* to the well-known Isaac Abendana, who did good literary work for some years at Cambridge and at Oxford, and whose brother Jacob was subsequently Haham of the London Community. Some curious remarks were made at this date, and again a little later, on the recurring theme of the *Wandering Jew*, but this subject has already been dealt with in an earlier chapter.

Thomas Violet died shortly after the legal applications referred to above; but followers in his footsteps were found in the Earl of Berkshire and a Mr. Ricaut, whose efforts, however, were not more successful, a Jewish petition to the King resulting in renewed promises of protection.

The Conventicle Act of 1664 naturally caused some alarm in the community; and indeed about nine years later proceedings were taken against certain Synagogue worshippers, but again Charles II. stopped the prosecution.

Coming to Charles's successor, it was to be expected that the new monarch would be lenient towards any deviation from the religion of the state; and accordingly we find that, in the first year of his reign, when an informer brought an action against certain Jewish worshippers, James II. caused the Attorney-General to stay the proceedings.

Two or three allusions having been made to the Synagogue of the Jews, it may be remarked that the

place of worship which had been allowed in Cromwell's time in Cree Church Lane had been enlarged in the year 1667. This synagogue was, of course, connected with the *Sephardim* Jews, that is to say, with the Israelites who had originally come from Spain or Portugal, or, it may be added, from Holland. It will be remembered that the Crypto-Jews, who were found in London in considerable numbers and who declared themselves orthodox Jews under Cromwell, were Spanish Marranos. The other branch of Israelites, the *Ashkenazim*, who came from Germany and further East, were only to be found in small numbers in London during the first part of the period with which we are now dealing.

The chief Rabbi of the Sephardim is known as the Haham, and the first holder of that distinguished position in England was Jacob Sasportas, of Amsterdam, who was appointed in 1664; he did not, however, long remain the spiritual head of the English Sephardim, being followed by Joshua da Silva (1670–1679). The next Haham was Jacob Abendana, already mentioned, who only held office for a few years; Solomon Ayllon—with Eastern sympathies—succeeding him in 1689 and retiring in the first year of the new century. In his time, the place of worship of the Sephardim was removed and enlarged, the new building, opened in 1702, being the well-known Bevis Marks Synagogue. Herein, it may be noted, may still be seen a beam, taken from the timbers of an old man-of-war, and presented by Queen Anne. A new Haham was appointed shortly after the consecration. David Nieto was a divine and a physician, and a man of considerable attainments.

He held office till his death, soon after the accession of George II., so that we shall meet with him in the next chapter, "Under the Hanoverians."

It should previously have been remarked that one or two proposals had been made to establish a *Ghetto* in London. This was suggested at the time of the Re-settlement, and again near the end of Charles II.'s reign; but, just as in Pre-Expulsion times, there had never been such a confinement to close quarters as in Rome and in some other places on the Continent, so at the Return no Jewish Ghetto was ever actually established.

Tovey prints, under the heading of James's time, the Petition which the London merchants numerously and influentially signed against the remission of "the Alien Duties" upon all goods exported which that king had granted to the Jews, and which they feared might be further extended to all imported goods. A somewhat similar question raised at the beginning of the next reign—that of William III. and Mary II.—by William Pennington, one of the officers of the London Custom House, is also dealt with and illustrated by documents in *Anglia Judaica*. The Jews were again favourably treated. It may be mentioned that William III. had been greatly helped in financial matters by some of the Dutch Jews when he was about to claim the English Throne; as it will be remembered had Charles II. when he was hoping for the Restoration.

The financial difficulties which William experienced soon after his establishment in England led to a suggestion for special taxation of the Jews; but the tallages of Pre-Expulsion times were no longer possible, and a Bill which was introduced in 1689

for taxing the Israelites to the extent of £100,000 fell through, and a loan of £12,000 or £20,000 was raised with difficulty.

Turning again from matters of the State to spiritual affairs, we may note that during the last decades of the seventeenth century the number of Ashkenazim Jews—those from Germany, etc.—was increasing; and, as many of them were poor, their relationship to the older and wealthier section led sometimes to difficulties. At length a separate synagogue was established (in Broad Street, Mitre Square), and after a while a Chief Rabbi was appointed. The Very Rev. Dr. H. Adler, the late incumbent of this important office, has given an interesting account of his predecessors in a paper read at the time of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition (in which by-the-by he, by mistake, links them on with "the Chief Presbyters" of Pre-Expulsion years). There is some confusion as to the first occupants of the post; but we may name Uri Phaibush, known as Aaron Hart, who held the office—with various anxieties—almost till the end of the reign of George II. Him also, therefore, we shall meet in Hanoverian days.

In Queen Anne's days certain Acts of Parliament were passed, including a measure which provided for the maintenance of the children of Jewish parents who should adopt Protestant Christianity.

The most notorious Jew, during this reign, was Solomon Medina, who was well known as an army contractor during the war with France, and was knighted for his services; though his name is less honourably linked with certain accusations of bribery in connexion with Marlborough.

CHAPTER III

UNDER THE HANOVERIANS

The influence of Jewish finance in the first half of the eighteenth century was very beneficial. Sampson Gideon, in particular, was prominent in practice and in advice. During the wild speculations in the times of the South Sea Bubble, he had a steadying influence; and the patriotic conduct of the Jews was helpful to the Government.

In 1723, an Act was passed by which a Jew could, without using the words "on the faith of a Christian," give evidence on oath, and so on. This recognition, as simple British subjects, was much appreciated. The Naturalisation Act of 1740 was another relief to the Community; while some years later, in 1753, the Government brought in a still more important Bill as to qualification by residence. This was debated with great keenness in both Houses of Parliament, and was actually passed. The opposition to it was, however, renewed, and such was the state of public feeling that, in the following year, this Jewish Naturalisation Act was repealed. A plentiful supply of literature on the subject was distributed on all hands.

Meantime members of the Jewish community advanced in wealth and importance; questions as to marriages came before the Law Courts; the numerous charities for which the members of the synagogues have always been distinguished were started, and so on. The elders of the Portuguese section formed a "Board of Deputies," which received royal sanction, and has had great influence. The Ashkenazim Jews were afterwards allowed to share in the organisation.

We saw in the last chapter that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Bevis Marks Synagogue was consecrated, and that David Nieto was appointed Haham of the Sephardim Jews. This distinguished Rabbi was the centre of much controversy in the religious community on the subject of Spinozism, etc., and the agitation spread to their brethren in Amsterdam. His literary activities were great, and many and varied treatises were published by him. He died in the year 1728, and it was not till five years later that his son Isaac was chosen to succeed him as Haham; he resigned office in 1741. He also was a scholar of considerable attainments, and it may be noted that Dr. Tovey, the author of *Anglia Judaica* (1738), seems to have been acquainted with him, referring to him as "the Learned *Rabbi* Isaac Netto, present Rector of the chief Synagogue at *London*." His successor as Haham was Mosshe Gomes de Mesquita, who held office till his death in 1751. Isaac Nieto again became the spiritual head of the Sephardim, but, as in his father's incumbency, there were disputes among the members of the congregation, and he again resigned in the year 1755. Some few

years later, Moses Cohen d'Azavedo, a son-in-law of Haham Mesquita, was appointed to the headship, in spite of the protests of Isaac Nieto. The new Haham continued in office till his death in 1784. There was then a long interval before the synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews had a successor as spiritual head.

We turn from the Sephardi community to the Ashkenazim Jews, over whom we saw that Rabbi Uri Phaibush, known as Aaron Hart, ruled during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. As so often happened, there were disputes in the congregation, and a secession took place—certain members setting up a new synagogue (known as the Hambro) in Magpye Alley, with Jochanan Höllischau as Rabbi thereof. The central community had also moved to larger quarters, the Duke's Place or Great Synagogue (built at the expense of the Rabbi's brother, Moses Hart) being opened in 1722. This reminds us that the Jews in London were increasing in numbers, especially in the German section; indeed, after a while we shall find that, although the Sephardim still retained much of its Spanish prestige, the Ashkenazim came to dispute their ascendancy. Rabbi Aaron Hart died in 1756, and in the following year Rabbi Hirsch Löbel succeeded him at the Great Synagogue. This Chief Rabbi was also known as Hart Lyon; early in his official career, a controversy arose as to matters relating to Shechita, the orthodox Jewish method of slaughtering animals for consumption. One Jacob Kimchi declared "all the Shochetim of London unworthy of holding their posts on account of their not rejecting certain animals which were alleged to

be suffering from a disease of the lungs, and thus causing the congregation to eat forbidden food. The Chief Rabbi maintained that the Shochetim had not acted illegally"; but he was so hampered by the wardens of his congregation, that he resigned his post. Dr. H. Adler speaks highly of his learning, and gives some curious instances of his humour and ready wit.

The next Chief Rabbi (1765) was David Tewele Schiff, who found the community still increasing, his synagogue being enlarged soon after his appointment; and some years later, in 1790, while he was still the spiritual leader, the building in Duke's Place was also rebuilt on a larger scale, chiefly at the expense of Mrs. Judith Levy, daughter of Moses Hart. Chief Rabbi Schiff died, after lengthened service, in the year 1792, but no actual successor was appointed until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Still there were fresh arrivals from the Continent, and, as many of the immigrants were in poor circumstances, there were further calls upon the charitable funds and institutions of the Jewish community. There was also further need for synagogue extension, a Polish place of worship being founded in Hounsditch; and, on the other hand, a western synagogue first at Denmark Court, Strand (1797) and afterwards in St. James's Place, Haymarket. Various provincial synagogues might also be mentioned, but space prevents more than a glance at Jewish doings outside the metropolis. For a similar reason, the affairs of the Israelites in our colonies cannot be chronicled here.

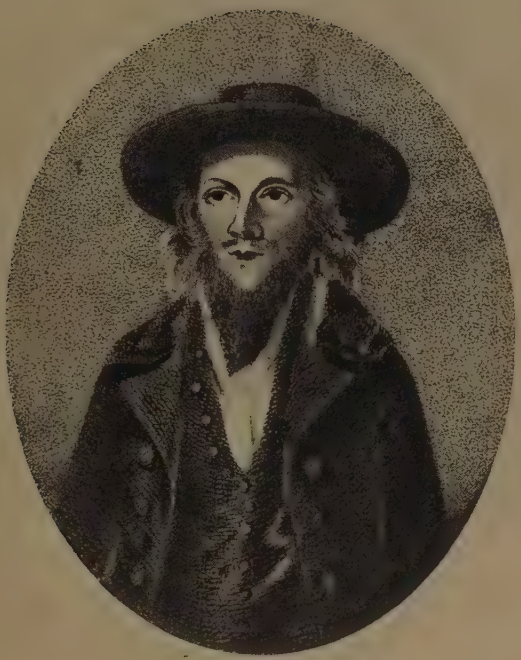
Before we leave the eighteenth century, passing

allusion may be made to certain notable Jewish families or individuals—the da Costas, the D'Aguilars, the D'Israelis, the Ricardos, the Goldsmids, etc., the Lyonses at Cambridge, and other provincial families, not to mention such Jews as Myer Lyon and John Braham, the singers, Samuel Mendoza and other pugilists, with many others.

Some of these became Christians. On the other hand, a convert to Judaism must be recorded in the case of Lord George Gordon, whom readers of Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge* will remember as the fanatical leader in the alarming "No Popery Riots." It is not necessary here to dwell upon his consignment to Newgate, and his retention there. This half-witted brother of the Duke of Gordon had previously been admitted by a Jewish rabbi into the faith of Abraham. The kindly ministrations paid to the poor man by a beautiful daughter of Israel form an interesting incident in a strange story.

Such is a brief chapter on the Jews during the eighteenth century. The following is a still shorter account—with which Mr. Israel Zangwill opens his amusing story entitled "the King of Schnorrers" (or Jewish Beggars):—

"The days when Lord George Gordon became a Jew, and was suspected of insanity; when out of respect for the prophecies, England denied her Jews every civic right except that of paying taxes; when the *Gentleman's Magazine* had ill words for the infidel alien; when Jewish marriages were invalid and bequests for Hebrew colleges void; when a prophet prophesying Primrose Day would have been set in the stocks; though Pitt inclined his private ear to Benjamin Goldsmid's views on the foreign



LORD GEORGE GORDON

FROM A WATER-COLOUR DRAWING BY POLACK MADE IN NEWGATE

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loan—those days when Tevele Schiff was Rabbi in Israel, and Dr. de Falk, the Master of the Tetragrammaton saint and cabbalistic conjuror, flourished in Wellclose Square, and the composer of 'The Death of Nelson' was a choir-boy in the Great Synagogue."

CHAPTER IV

EMANCIPATION

THE opening of the nineteenth century found the Jews of England still labouring under many political and social disabilities, and some fifty or sixty years more were to pass before emancipation was actually adopted. Those years tell of a great struggle; of continued and incessant efforts of individual Jews; of equally persistent endeavours on the part of lovers of freedom in Parliament and elsewhere. Still the Jews were restricted in many professions and walks of life; still they were excluded from holding many civil offices; still they were debarred from entering the House of Commons.

But gradually barriers were broken down in the professions, in the city of London, in the Universities, in Parliament itself.

In the year 1830 Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Grant introduced a Bill into the House of Commons advocating the removal of various Jewish disqualifications. This was, however, rejected at the second reading by a large majority. Mr. Grant made another effort in Parliament in 1833, and this time was more successful in the House of Commons; but after the Bill had been introduced into the House of Peers by

Lord Bexley, it was rejected at the second reading. It will be seen afterwards that both Mr. Robert Grant and Lord Bexley were active members of *The London Society for the Promotion of Christianity amongst the Jews.* In 1836 a further effort was made, with partial Governmental support, but the House of Lords was again the obstacle. All the steps in the direction of emancipation cannot here be detailed; but, while an Act was passed in 1845 for the relief of persons of the Jewish religion elected to municipal offices, it was not till the year 1858 that the oath required of members of Parliament was so altered that it could be taken by Jews, nor till 1866 that such difficulties were finally swept away.

Meanwhile there had been some remarkable individual struggles. David Salomons, for instance, had been appointed Sheriff of London and Middlesex, elected an Alderman of the City, and afterwards, in 1855, Lord Mayor of London; he had been chosen to represent Greenwich in Parliament and had voted in the House of Commons, thereby subjecting himself to a fine. Sir Moses Montefiore, of philanthropic fame, likewise held the office of Sheriff of London in 1837. Baron Lionel de Rothschild had also been elected a Member of Parliament for the City of London in 1847. It was not, however, till some years later (1858) that these two representatives were allowed to take their seats in the Legislature.

The portals of the Upper House were also opened in 1886; the first Jewish peer being Nathan Meyer Rothschild, the son of the representative of the City of London just mentioned. That M.P., Baron Lionel, was the eldest of the three sons of an older Nathan

Meyer Rothschild, who, belonging to the renowned family of financiers of that name, had settled in England towards the end of the eighteenth century, and, having been naturalised in the year 1804, represented the great firm in this land. The brothers of Baron Lionel (who, by-the-by, figures as "Sidonia" in Lord Beaconsfield's novel *Coningsby*) were Anthony, who was made a Baronet in 1846, and Meyer, whose daughter Hannah married Lord Rosebery.

Other members of the House of Lords have been Baron Henry de Worms, created Lord Pirbright; Sir Henry Samuel, who took the name of Montagu, and was made Lord Swaythling; and Sir Rufus Isaacs, Lord Chief Justice, now Earl Reading.

Jews also have entered the Ministry and the Cabinet; among such being Lord Pirbright, mentioned above, Sir Herbert Samuel, the Hon. Edwin Montagu, and others.

The Universities also have removed barriers which had prevented the graduation of Jews; and very distinguished names have appeared in foremost places in the examination lists; J. J. Silvester, second Wrangler in the year 1837, passed afterwards from Cambridge to an Oxford Professorship; while Numa Hartog was Senior Wrangler in 1869, and Selig Brodetsky attained that position, bracketed, in 1908.

Jews had formerly been unable to be called to the Bar, but eminent lawyers have been admitted and welcomed to distinguished legal posts. Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls, and Lord Reading, Lord Chief Justice, have already been mentioned.

Similarly honoured names in other branches of

service and professions might be given, at home and in the Colonies.

British Jews have responded to these privileges by conspicuous loyalty. In the United Kingdom and the Dominions there are reckoned to be about 420,000 Jews; of these, in the South African War some 2000 Jews served, of whom 114 laid down their lives. While in the Great War (according to the Rev. M. Adler, C.F.), out of 50,000 Jews who joined His Majesty's Forces, 2324 were killed and 6350 were wounded; 5 Jews were awarded the V.C.

We turn again to the Ministry of the Synagogues. It will be remembered that at the end of the eighteenth century and in the opening years of the nineteenth, there was a vacancy in the office of Chief Rabbi. At length, in 1802, ten years after the death of Tewele Schiff, Solomon Hirschell, son of his predecessor Hirsch Löbel (Hart Lyon), was appointed head of the Duke's Place Synagogue. This distinguished Chief Rabbi held office for forty years, and extended his influence over the other Ashkenazi synagogues; though during his declining years, as we shall see, the members of the Reform party established a new synagogue in West London, to the great dismay of the orthodox authorities. Solomon Hirschell died in 1842, and two or three years later a great-nephew of Chief Rabbi David Tewele Schiff was elected as his successor. Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler was Chief Rabbi from 1844 to 1890, holding the office with distinction, as did his son and successor, Dr. Hermann Adler, who was elected in 1891, having previously acted as assistant to his father for some years. He held the incumbency till his death in 1911; the

present holder of this honoured post is the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, who was appointed in the year 1913.

Turning to the Sephardi congregations, it will be remembered that there was here also an interval between the spiritual office-holders. Indeed, it was not till the year 1806 that a new Haham was appointed in the person of Raphael Meldola, a learned member of a learned family, who held office till his death in 1828. Allusion has already been made to the Reform movement and to the dissensions throughout both sections of the Jewish Community. We may conclude by noting that the present Haham, the very Rev. Dr. Gaster, a distinguished scholar, has held the spiritual headship of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue since the year 1887, when, after an interval of some eight years, he succeeded Benjamin Artom, who had officiated from 1866 to 1879.

We have been dealing with the usual routine history of the synagogue; with the ordinary conservative and orthodox Jews. But the educational and civil emancipation which was abroad had stirred the thoughts of many; there was reform in the air. Such questions as the following were being debated: a desire to make the services less lengthy and more devotional; the use of the vernacular in those services, and especially in sermons and discourses; the omission of such prayers as those for the renewal of sacrifices when the Temple should be restored; the use of music, vocal and instrumental, in their devotions; the abolition, or diminution, of the separation of women in the synagogues, etc. In the year 1836, a definite petition was presented to the authorities

by a number of religious reformers, asking for the adoption of some of the suggestions. The request, however, was promptly refused, and so was another petition three years later. In 1840 a further step was taken—a congregation of Reformers was started; while two years afterwards the West London Synagogue of British Jews was established, with the Rev. D. W. Marks as minister. This movement was bitterly opposed by the orthodox section, led by the aged Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell and by the temporary head of the Sephardim Jews, who went so far as formally to pronounce an edict of excommunication (*Cherem*), and even to refuse burial to a deceased member of the new synagogue. Various other consequences of this boycotting followed, which need not here be enumerated. It may be added, some few years afterwards legal sanction was obtained for the solemnisation of matrimony, etc., while as time went on, the bitterness of feeling largely died away, and representatives of the seceders were admitted to sit on the Committee of Deputies and other Jewish assemblies.

Towards the end of the century, however, there was a further movement in the direction of Liberal Reform. In 1890 what were known as the Hampstead Sabbath Afternoon Services were started, and later on Sunday religious gatherings were instituted. In 1901 the *Jewish Religious Union* was established; a Prayer-book was compiled, and an East End Branch of the movement was formed. At length, in 1910, a Liberal Jewish Synagogue was opened in Hill Street, Dorset Square, with Mr. Claude G. Montefiore as President, and Mr. Mattuck as Rabbi.

Official Judaism was, of course, again greatly disturbed by this advance; and the Chief Rabbi (Dr. Hermann Adler) appealed to the authorities of the West London Synagogue, with which the new congregation proposed to associate itself, not to countenance the movement. Thus while, as we have seen, "in 1842 the West London Synagogue was anathematized by the rabbis and the lay authorities of the official synagogue, in 1899 it was appealed to by a successor of the Chief Rabbi, who had pronounced the *Cherem* upon it, to join hands in suppressing a forward movement."

In the First Part of this volume, chapters were devoted to the home life, the business life, the religious life of the early Jews of the Pre-Expulsion period; and perhaps similar sections ought to be given here with reference to modern sons of Israel, contrasting the somewhat aristocratic style of the Spanish families, a century and more ago, with the wandering poverty of the German and other pedlars; and the wealthy surroundings nowadays of the Jews in the West End of London and elsewhere, and the extensive dealings and operations on 'Change, with the extraordinary scenes and doings in the East End. But these are so well known, and have been so vividly described by Mr. Israel Zangwill and others, that there is no need to dwell upon the subject here, except to repeat admiration for the generous efforts made by the richer Jews on behalf of their poorer brethren.

CHAPTER V

SYNAGOGUE VISITORS

On the return of the Jews to England, there was considerable curiosity to see the synagogues and the manner of worship of the new-comers, and it may be interesting to read the reports of some of the visitors.

So early as 1662, one John Greenhalgh gives an account of what he saw at the Sephardi Synagogue in Cree Church Lane; and the description is the more interesting because of the suggestion that the meeting-house visited was not merely a newly-opened synagogue, but the rooms where Crypto-Jews had secretly carried on their religious services.

Let us borrow from Mr. Lucien Wolf's graphic account in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England. He describes the large and mysterious-looking gabled house in Cree Church Lane, Leadenhall Street, tenanted by Moses Athias, a clerk to the well-known Spanish merchant Antonio Carvajal. Its basements were strongly barred, its upper windows were impenetrably curtained. Swarthy strangers and their mincing and bejewelled spouses flocked thither at

frequent but regular intervals. Muffled melodies and nasal recitatives were heard in the still morning air proceeding from the upper stories.

Greenhalgh's letter shows conclusively that the synagogue which he visited had originally been arranged to suit the requirements of a secret congregation. It was held on the first floor of a private house, and its entrance was protected by three double-locked doors. Although, in 1662, it was still desirable to hold Jewish services with some degree of privacy, it was no longer necessary to observe defensive precautions. These double-locked doors must consequently have been a relic of the secret worship in or prior to 1655, and may be regarded as evidence of the Pre-Settlement age of the synagogue.

The internal arrangements were necessarily rather primitive. Two rooms were reserved for prayer, the smaller being appropriated to the women, and separated from the larger by a partition fitted with a long and narrow latticed window. In the larger room four long forms—two on each side—were provided for the male worshippers. The *banco*, or Warden's box, consisted of a seat and desk raised high above the other seats, and occupying the west end of the room. Six feet in front of the banco, and on a slightly lower level, was the reading-desk, with two steps on each side, and brass candlesticks at each corner. The Ark was little more than a plain cupboard flanked by huge brass candlesticks. Two perpetual lamps of "christal glass" hung before it. The walls were fitted with drawers, in which the worshippers kept their books and *Talithim*.

The very next year, on October 13, 1663, there

is an entry in Mr. Pepys's *Diary* which is, as usual, vividly written :—

"After dinner my wife and I, by Mr. Rawlinson's conduct to the Jewish Synagogue, where the men and boys in their vayles, and the women behind a lattice out of sight; and some things stand up, which I believe is their law, in a press to which all coming in do bow; and at the putting on of their vayles do say something, to which others that hear the Priest do cry Amen, and the party do kiss his vayle. Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws that they take out of the press are carried by several men, four or five several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another; and whether it is that every one desires to have the carrying of it, thus they carried it round about the room while such a service is singing. And in the end they had a prayer for the King, in which they pronounced his name in Portugall; but the prayer, like the rest, in Hebrew. But, Lord! to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than people knowing the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more; and, indeed, I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this."

It may be added that John Evelyn, the friend of Samuel Pepys, in his *Diary* also describes a visit to a synagogue. It was at an earlier date—August 21, 1641—and abroad; but it may be quoted :—

"About 7 in the morning I came to Amsterdam, where being provided with a lodging, the first thing I went to see was a Synagogue of the Jews (being Saturday), whose ceremonies, ornaments, lamps, law, and schools afforded matter for my contemplation. The women

were secluded from the men, being seated in galleries above, shut with lattices, having their heads muffled with linen, after a fantastic and somewhat extraordinary fashion; the men wearing a large calico mantle, yellow coloured, over their hats, all the while moving their bodies, whilst at their devotions."

Let us pass a century, and in 1770 with the Rev. Charles Wesley, the hymn-writer, and brother to John Wesley, pay a visit to Duke's Place Synagogue, which is thus recorded in his *Journal:* "I was desirous to hear Mr. Leoni sing at the Jewish Synagogue. . . . I never before saw a Jewish congregation behave so decently. Indeed, the place itself is so solemn, that it might strike an awe upon those who have any thought of God."

Coming to the nineteenth century, Mr. James Picciotto, in his interesting *Sketches*, tells of the patronage of the Duke of Kent to the synagogue funds, and, dwelling upon the loyalty of the Jews, records the following :—

"In April, 1809, the Synagogue in Duke's Place experienced the unusual honour of receiving a State visit from several princes of the blood. Abraham Goldsmid attended personally at a meeting of the Synagogue on the 3rd of April, to give notice that the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Sussex, and the Duke of Cambridge intended to assist at a Friday evening service. The Duke of Sussex, it is well known, always displayed much friendship and sympathy for the Jews. On this occasion pompous preparations were made for the reception of these distinguished guests. The Wardens of the day were Messrs. Asha Goldsmid, Joseph Cohen and Moses Samuel. The notice was short, for the visit occurred on Friday evening,

the 14th April. The path of the Royal Dukes from the carriages to the entrance of the Synagogue was strewn with flowers; and their advent was hailed with the usual Prayer for the Royal Family—'He who giveth salvation unto Kings'—intoned by a well-drilled choir. Some verses written, we believe, by the late Michael Josephs, were sung; and a few copies printed on silk were distributed to a favoured number. Altogether the celebration is said to have met in the highest degree the approbation of the princely sons of George III., and the visit of the Royal Dukes still forms a tradition of glory among the older members of the Great Synagogue."

The elaborate appearance of some of the present synagogues need not be described; nor need the authorised Jewish *Daily Prayer-books* be quoted, except, perhaps, to say that there are still Oriental expressions and usages contained therein; as, for instance, when, early in the service, men are bidden to say: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast not made me a woman"; whilst the women, in subdued tones, declare, "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast made me according to Thy will."

The reader may like to see the authorised comments on these thanksgivings; they are "not due to pride in superior privilege, but to gratitude for higher obligations. Many of the ceremonial duties were not incumbent upon women, and the man, so far from resenting his additional burden, thanked God for it."

The English reader of these Service Books will notice that, amidst the often beautiful prayers and supplications, the blessings and confessions of faith,

amidst the recitation of Psalms, the reading of the Law, and the passages from the Prophets, there are not infrequent additions from extra-Scriptural writings. Thus at the beginning of the Prayer-book there are passages from the Mishna and Baraithas, containing specimens of "the subtle dialectics in which the Jewish mind revels." And so "after the legal (*halachic*) Mishnaic chapter concerning the Sabbath light, there follows a homiletical (*haggadic*) passage (*Rabbi Eleazer said*, etc.) from the Talmud (end of Tractate Berachoth)." These illustrate the Jewish desire to encourage the study of the Law.

The visitor at a synagogue will also notice various curious ceremonials—the wearing of the Praying-Shawl, the Fringes, and the Phylacteries; the Blowing of the Shofar (the ram's horn), the elevation of the Scrolls of the Law, and the carrying thereof to and from the "Ark"; the swaying of the body in devotions, etc.

Tovey ends his *Anglia Judaica* by printing in prominent type "A Form of Prayer for the King and Royal Family," used by the Jews in their synagogues, the concluding sentences of which may be quoted. There is something pathetic in the memories of the past hidden in these words which are still used in the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire.

"May the King of kings, and Lord of lords, in His Great Mercy, put into the heart of the King, and into the hearts of his Lords and Counsellors, tender compassion towards us, that they may deal kindly with us, and with all Israel, our Brethren. Amen."

CHAPTER VI

CONVERSIONS

When the Jews returned to England at the Resettlement in Cromwell's time, Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel concluded his Declaration by saying: "This I desire all may be confident of, that I am not come to make any Disturbance, or to move any disputes about Matters of Religion."

Picciotto says: "We find the most stringent enactments passed by the early law-makers of the Israelites, under the severest penalties in their power to inflict, against the reception of proselytes into the community. This principle has been so rigidly adhered to even to the present day here, that the spiritual guides of the Jewish community have ever persistently refused to admit strangers to the rites, privileges, and duties of Judaism."

And Mr. Hyamson, in his excellent *History of the Jews in England*, pp. 243, 244, remarks—

"It was a tradition that the return of the Jews to England had only been agreed to by the English Government provided that no converts were made, and for almost two centuries after that date the synagogues invariably refused to receive into the community any Gentile, no matter how sincere was

his desire to enter it. It appears that in the middle of the eighteenth century some foreign Jews, settled temporarily in London, were making proselytes. On this coming to the ears of the synagogue authorities, joint action was taken by them, and the announcement was publicly made that any Jew guilty of the stated offence would be expelled from his synagogue and deprived of all the benefits and privileges pertaining to the Jewish religion."

This policy was urged in favour of the Emancipation of the Jews. Macaulay, for instance, in his important speech in the House of Commons, on April 17, 1833, in support of Mr. Robert Grant's resolution, used the following argument: "There is not the slightest chance that the Jewish religion will spread. The Jew does not wish to make proselytes. He may be said to reject them. He thinks it almost culpable in one who does not belong to his race to presume to belong to his religion. It is, therefore, not strange that a conversion from Christianity to Judaism should be a rarer occurrence than a total eclipse of the sun." Messrs. Abrahams and Levy, in their edition of this speech, however, make this comment: "Macaulay here overstates the case. The synagogue has at various times been reluctant to receive and unwilling to seek proselytes. But it does not reject them."

Again, Professor Max Müller, in his *Chips from a German Workshop* (iv. 254), declares that "the Jews do not proselytise"; but later on (p. 319) he says that "the Chief Rabbi, stung to the quick by the reproach of the absence of the missionary spirit in Judaism, has delivered a sermon to show that I had

maligned his people, etc. A Jewish Missionary Society (he adds) is actually forming in London."

Dr. Israel Abrahams, in his remarkable treatise on *Judaism* (p. 42), observes: "At one time Judaism was certainly a missionary religion. But after the loss of nationality this quality was practically dormant. Moreover, it was dangerous for Jews to attempt any religious propaganda in the Middle Ages, and thus the pressure of fact came to the support of theory. Mendelssohn even held that the same religion was not necessarily good for all, just as the same form of government may not fit equally all the various national idiosyncrasies. Judaism for the Jew may almost be claimed as a principle of orthodox Judaism. It says to the outsider: You may come in if you will, but we warn you what it means. At all events it does not seek to attract." The quotation may be completed: "It is not strange that this attitude has led to unpopularity. The reason of this resentment is not that men wish to be invited to join Judaism; it lies rather in the sense that the absence of invitation implies an arrogant reserve. To some extent this is the case. The old-fashioned Jew is inclined to think himself superior to other men. Such a thought has its pathos."

Such is the Jewish position; but it is not the Christian attitude.

The disciple of Jesus Christ desires that all men everywhere should know and share the privileges offered by Christianity. And, in particular, at the date when the eighteenth century was passing on to the nineteenth, there were bands of enthusiastic believers who wished to tell to men of all other

religions (the Jewish, of course, included) the know ledge of that salvation which they themselves possessed.

Accordingly in the year 1801, a Christian Jew, of the name of Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey, who had come to England to join in foreign missionary work, seeing the condition of his brethren the Jews in London, determined to remain here and devote himself to their spiritual welfare. Afterwards a small association was formed in 1809, conducted on general inter-denominational lines which was the beginning of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. This was supported by many well-known names, such as William Wilberforce, Charles Simeon, etc. Robert Grant was also among them, the same who afterwards introduced into the House of Commons the Bill for the Emancipation of the Jews, and Lord Bexley, who handed it on to the House of Lords; though so also was Sir Robert Inglis, its determined opponent. The Society later on, in 1815, became attached exclusively to the Church of England, the Rev. Lewis Way being a very generous supporter of the movement. The Society, which eventually extended its missionary efforts abroad in the Holy Land and elsewhere, has done a remarkable work in its schools, its hospitals, its publications, etc., as well as in preaching and teaching. In the year 1841, the Jerusalem Anglican Bishopric was founded, the first episcopal leader being the Rt. Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, a learned Hebrew Christian; he was succeeded in 1846 by Bishop Samuel Gobat. The *History* of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews,

THE REV. LEWIS WAY

during its first century of work, has been admirably written by the Rev. W. T. Gidney.

In the year 1842 was founded "the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews," and various other associations for similar work have been established. There is not space here to detail the important labours of these societies.

Efforts to promote conversion to Christianity have always been greatly resented by Jews. The accounts given by Dr. Kidder and others of the bitter persecutions to which converts have been subjected by the relatives and neighbours are, it is to be hoped, exaggerated.

After certain examples of such treatment at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, an Act of Parliament was passed (as we have seen) in 1702 "to oblige Jews to maintain and provide for their Protestant children" —so that "if any Jewish parent in order to the compelling of his or her Protestant child to change his or her religion shall refuse to allow such child a fitting maintenance . . . it shall be lawful for the Lord Chancellor . . . to make such order therein for the maintenance of such Protestant child, as he . . . shall think fit." The Act, however, was soon afterwards repealed.

Complaints have been made by Jews of unfair means of conversion being used by these Societies, especially among children and the poor. It has been alleged that bribes and rewards have been offered. It may be that some eager agents may now and then have been obtrusive and indiscreet; but the names of those who have controlled the Societies and the piety and goodness of those who have worked

under them are a guarantee that the charges are untrue or exceptional; while the destitute conditions to which some of the converts are exposed show that some steps must be taken for their support. This has generally been done by Jewish Operative Societies and Homes of Industry, not directly connected with the Missionary Societies.

As to the converts themselves. But first it is sometimes denied that there are any converts. "Convert the Jews!" (says Mr. G. F. Abbott, the author of *Israel in Europe*). "You might as hopefully attempt to convert the Pyramids." A well-known Jew, who has written an essay upon the subject, first questions the existence of converts, and then inconsistently writes as follows: "The descendants of Moses Mendelssohn abandoned Judaism and embraced Christianity; and not only members of that gifted family, but such eminent artists as Heine, Moscheles, Ferdinand Ries, Ferdinand Hiller, Joachim, Rubinstein, and numberless other distinguished German, Polish, Hungarian and Russian Jewish musicians, poets, painters, *literati* and scientists." The same writer questions the motives of those who embrace Christianity; and yet again he sneeringly says that some of the converts are drawn "*from the lowest Jewish class.*"

Christians are not moved by such a sneer. They are glad that the poor should have the gospel preached to them. As a matter of fact, however, besides referring the essayist to the passage quoted above about distinguished foreign converts, let the following list of names, selected from those closely connected with our own land, tell its story:—

D'Aguilar, Bernal, Gideon, D'Israeli, Dupass, Pereira, Ricardo, Braham, Basevi, Uzzielli, Lopez, Herschell, Wolff, Alexander, Benoliel, Bernard, Sullivan, Leoni Levi, Palgrave, Lindsay, Margoliouth, Davidson, Ginsburg, Edersheim, Saphir, Flecker, Hellmuth, Marks, Rosenthal, Schor, Stern, etc.

And let be noted that "there are over 250 converted Jews, or sons of such, ordained clergymen in the Church of England, and more than double that number in the Nonconformist bodies at home, in the Continental Churches, and in America" (A. Baring-Gould).

CHAPTER VII

ZIONISM AND THE MISSION OF ISRAEL

A WORD or two may be said upon certain questions which look further afield, and affect Jews of other lands. The Israelites in England—now at any rate—are fully emancipated; but when they contemplate Russia and lands nearer West, they find their brethren cramped, and even persecuted. Cruel attacks roused indignation, and called for sympathy and help, and have found a ready response here in England. The chivalrous journeys of Sir Moses Montefiore—even in old age—are not likely to be forgotten.

English Jews have also shared in various racial aspirations. Perhaps the most remarkable effort of modern times has been the Zionist movement. This arose, to a certain extent, out of the Anti-Semite outbreak in Russia and Central Europe. Stirred by these events, and by the political conditions of his own country, Dr. Theodor Herzl, a brilliant Viennese journalist, in 1897, launched the Zionist cause. His widely circulated book—*A Jewish State*, his largely attended congresses, his interviews with the Sultan of Turkey, and his personal influence turned many hearts afresh to the land of Palestine, or at any rate to schemes of

Jewish Colonisation and autonomy in some select area of the world.

Let us consider the English attitude towards Zionism. In our land the Jewish lot has fallen unto them in a fair ground; very many of them are more than content with their circumstances; they have become assimilated to the country of their inheritance or adoption; some have even inter-married with their neighbours; many have adopted English surnames, still more have chosen native first names. Consequently (although, of course, any reference to Zion naturally makes a sentimental appeal) the movement has not caught on, at least not in certain circles; and, when mention is made of a "national home" in Palestine, many here point out the difference between Nationalism and Religion. They are Englishmen by *nation*, they are Jews by *religion* —they say. Quite a shower of pamphlets—entitled *Nation, or Religious Community*, and so on—has been issued. On the other hand, it should be recorded that Zionism has gained the support of some distinguished English Jews—including Mr. Israel Zangwill, who has schemes of his own. We need not, however, here allude to these plans, nor indeed to any of the colonist proposals. We may confine ourselves to Palestine, and point out the difficulties of the Zionist movement in the Holy Land. What will be the relationship to the Christians there? What to the many Mohammedans? Will the holy places be denationalised? If, on the other hand, the Temple should be rebuilt, will sacrifices be restored? Do the Jews look for a Messiah? The answers to these questions have divided the Jews.

There are those—not only from Russia and other orthodox and unemancipated lands—who hope for a fully-restored Jewish Kingdom; but even of those who accept Mr. Balfour's careful reservations as to the rights of others, and who call for a mandate to Great Britain or for a British Protectorate, there are some who do not welcome the prospect. Mr. G. F. Abbott, *Israel in Europe* (1907), p. 494, quotes "a member of the wealthiest family in Europe" as saying, "If the Messiah ever came, I would apply for the post of Palestinian Ambassador in London"!

[Since the above was written, a "mandate" has been given to the British Government; and Sir Herbert Samuel has been appointed High Commissioner, with an Advisory Council. It is too early to speculate what will be the future of this interesting movement, but, when it is remembered that the population of Palestine contains 80 per cent. Moslems, 9 per cent. Christians, and only 11 per cent. Jews, it is evident that there will be need for the greatest wisdom and impartiality, if the rights of every race and every creed are to be respected.]

This opens up an even wider question. What is the future of Israel? What is "the Mission of Judaism"? Do the Jews—at any rate, do the Liberal Jews—look for a Messiah? The well-known writer who contributed the article on *Zionism* to the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, concludes with these words: "Under the influence of religious toleration and the naturalisation laws, nationalities are daily losing more of their racial character. The coming nationality will be essentially a matter of education and economics, and this will not exclude

the Jews as such. With the passing away of anti-Semitism, Jewish nationalism will disappear. If the Jewish people disappear with it, it will only be because either their religious mission to the world has been accomplished or they have proved themselves unworthy of it." One of the most distinguished of Jewish writers says: "it is very difficult to assert nowadays whether Judaism does or does not expect a personal Messiah." The same author finishes his remarkable volume on *Judaism* with the following words: "Modern Judaism claims no finality but what is expressed in that hope [the (generally received) acknowledgment that the Lord is One, and His name One]. It holds itself ready to develop, to modify, to absorb, to assimilate, except in so far as such processes seem inconsistent with this hope. Modern Jews think that in some respects the Rabbinic Judaism was an advance on the Biblical; they think, further, that their own Judaism is an advance on the Rabbinic. Judaism, as they conceive it, is the one religion, with a great history behind it, that does not claim the religious doctrines of some particular moment in its history to be the last word on Religion. It thinks that the last word is yet to be spoken, and is inspired with the confidence that its own continuance will make that last word fuller and truer when it comes, if it ever does come."

The concluding words of none of these quotations ring with enthusiasm or clearness.

We Christians wish that Jews shared with us the *knowledge* of promises fulfilled in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ and the *certain hopes* of the Future.

APPENDIX B

THE JEW IN ENGLISH LITERATURE (II)

NOTHING is more remarkable in English Literature than the fascination which the Jew has proved to be to most authors. In this section the reader will be reminded of this influence by reference to a long list of writers, who have made an Israelitish person or incident the leading character or event in their book, or have made some striking reference to the Jew. The list, however, is so long, that it sometimes degenerates into a mere catalogue; and, even so, the reader will doubtless call to mind some figure or incident that might have been mentioned.

Dean Lancelot Addison, the father of the essayist, when chaplain at Tangiers, was greatly interested in the Jews and wrote an account of them which attracted much attention. There has been quoted above the characteristically vivid description of a visit to the London Synagogue by Samuel Pepys in 1663.

Turning more distinctly to literature, the English loyalists, who figure as Jews in Dryden's satire *Absalom and Achitophel*, will be remembered; and so will the successful tragedy *Marianne* (1723) by Elijah Fenton; and Alexander Pope's allusions in *The Rape of the Lock*. Later on, reference may be made to Oliver Goldsmith's poem *The Haunch of Venison*, written in swinging anapæst, where a Jewish journalist is depicted as a characteristic figure.

Richard Cumberland's comedy *The Jew*, first performed and published in 1794, was often acted and ran through a large number of printed editions. "Sheva the Jew was played by Bannister, 'handsome Jack Bannister,' while Jubal, his man, was represented by Suett, an irresistibly droll low comedian. Palmer, one of the greatest 'villains' that ever trode the stage, appeared as Frederick; and the beautiful and celebrated Miss Farren—who subsequently became Countess of Derby—graced the part of Louisa Ratcliff." The beneficent character of this Jew was an innovation on the stage; indeed, Cumberland himself had previously produced a play—*The Fashionable Lover* (1772)—in which a Jewish broker, named Napthali, was not a very desirable character. In *The Observer* (No. 38) he had, however, drawn a figure, Abraham Abrahams, who foreshadowed his good opinion of the Jews; while in a later play—*The Jew of Mogadore* (1808)—he again tried to produce a favourable impression, though he was not so successful as with Sheva.

Cumberland was, it will be remembered, caricatured as Sir Fretful Plagiary by Sheridan in *The Critic*. In that author's *School for Scandal* there was the character named Moses; while in his comic opera, *The Duenna*, Isaac Mendoza was figured. It may be noted that the part of Don Carlos, in the last-mentioned play, was performed by Leoni, the teacher of Braham. He was a strict Jew (whose Synagogue duties we have already referred to), and the piece was never performed on a Friday night.

Miss Maria Edgeworth's novel *Harrington* "was occasioned by an extremely well-written letter, which she received from America, from a Jewish lady, complaining of the illiberality with which the Jewish nation had been treated in some of Miss Edgeworth's works." In the novel Harrington goes to Cambridge and is very friendly with Israel Lyons, junior. [The works published by the

father and son of that name might be mentioned here.] We are told of the hero that "he rummaged over Tovey [whose *Anglia Judaica* has often been quoted] and Ockley [Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, who wrote a *History of the Saracens*, etc.]; and Priestley's *Letters to the Jews*, and the *Letters of Certain Jews to M. de Voltaire*. Of Voltaire's illiberal attack upon the Jews and of the King of Prussia's intolerance towards them, he could not express sufficient detestation, nor could he adequately extol Cumberland's benevolent *Jew*, or Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*."

George Crabbe's very uncomplimentary lines, in his poem *The Borough*, need not be quoted.

Isaac D'Israeli's *Genius of Judaism* should perhaps rather be treated in a former chapter than dealt with in this supplementary section; in his *Curiosities of Literaure*, there are portions which are to our purpose, such as the account of the Massacre at York. His famous son, Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, was always proud of the race from which he sprang, and several of his novels deal exclusively with Jewish subjects. Such are *Coningsby* and *Tancred* and *Alroy*; which are too well known to need description, though we may refer to the remarks upon them in Rabbi David Philipson's *The Jew in English Fiction*. It may be added that Thackeray wrote, in *Punch* in the year 1847, a parody of the first of these novels, which he entitled *Codlingsby*, by D. Shrewsbury, Esq.

William Wordsworth the poet has some interesting verses, entitled "A Jewish Family," and, as we have seen, he modernised Chaucer's "Prioresse's Tale." His friend Samuel Taylor Coleridge published a versification of three Talmudic Tales in the *Friend;* while in his *Table Talk*, he has several severe remarks upon the Jews; for instance, under date April 13, 1830, it having been said: "It may possibly have been God's will and meaning that the Jews should remain a quiet light among the nations for the purpose of pointing at the doctrine of the

Unity of God," Coleridge answered: "The religion of the Jews is indeed a light; but it is as the light of the glow-worm, which gives no heat, and illumines nothing but itself."

Charles Lamb, in his essay on *Imperfect Sympathies*, has some very curious and characteristic remarks upon the Jews—including Braham the singer. He and his sister Mary Lamb also deal with the subject in the *Elizabethan Dramatists*.

Lord Byron, with his customary frankness, writes about the Jews in the *Age of Bronze*, but the noble poet had financial dealing with Israelites whom he satirizes. He says, in *Don Juan*—

> "In my young days they lent me cash that way,
> Which I found very troublesome to pay."

Sir Walter Scott, so Lockhart tells us, also knew what it meant to be indebted to the Jews. But the author of *Ivanhoe* enlists sympathy for Isaac of York and more than sympathy for his beautiful daughter Rebecca.

Allusion has already been made to the Jewish chemist, Zacharias Yoglan, whom Sir Walter—in *Kenilworth*—makes to be a resident in London for some years in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Before leaving Scott, it may be noted that Thackeray wrote for *Punch* a burlesque continuation of *Ivanhoe*, which he called "*Rebecca and Rowena*, a romance upon a romance, by Mr. M. A. Titmarsh."

Shelley, like many others, was attracted by the story of the Wandering Jew, to whom, under the name of Ahasuerus, he refers in *Queen Mab*. The same subject has also been treated by Robert Buchanan.

The Rev. George Croly published the romance *Salathiel the Immortal* in 1827, while Horace Smith wrote *Zillah, a Tale of the Holy City* (1828), and Mrs. J. B. Webb in 1840 issued a story called *Naomi, or the Last Days of Jerusalem*.

Thomas Carlyle has various allusions to the Jews in *Sartor Resartus*, in *Past and Present*, in the *Life and Letters of Cromwell*, and elsewhere.

The brigands, in Sir Henry Taylor's *A Sicilian Summer*, were Jews; Archbishop Trench wrote various poems on Jewish subjects, including poetical versions of Talmudic Tales; Alexander William Kinglake made, in 1835, the Eastern tour described in his volume *Eothen;* the first Lord Lytton introduced Jews into his works, *My Novel* and *Leila;* and so did Charles Reade in *Never too Late to Mend.*

It has been pointed out that Jewish characters are introduced (as indeed we have already noticed) into various plays; such, for instance, as Levi Lyons in *Will Watch*, Abanazor in *The Jewess*, Abraham Mendez in *Jack Shepperd*, and Melter Moss in *The Ticket of Leave Man.* In connexion with the drama, too, mention should be made of Foote, *The Minor* (with Transfer's speech); Sheridan Knowles, *The Maid of Mariendorpt*; Douglas Jerrold, his comedy *Prisoner of War* (1842), and his dramatic sketch *The Painter of Ghent;* and, to come to more recent years, *The Bells, or The Polish Jews*, which brought fame to Sir Henry Irving; *Man and Superman*, by G. Bernard Shaw, and the tragedy *Herod* (1901), by Stephen Phillips. George du Maurier's *Trilby* (with the Jewish character Svengali) was successfully dramatised.

Returning to an early date, we must, of course, specially notice the Jewish characters in Charles Dickens's works. To *Barnaby Rudge*, and his treatment of Lord George Gordon, allusion has already been made. There is a great difference, doubtless intentional, between the vivid but awful character of Fagin in *Oliver Twist* (1837) and the later delineation of Riah in *Our Mutual Friend* (1864–5).

Dealing with the poets, Matthew Arnold's elegiac verses on "Heine's Grave" are well known; and it will

be remembered that he has elaborately contrasted Hellenism and Hebraism in his *Culture and Anarchy*. Robert Browning was greatly attracted by the Jewish character, and he has made some profound studies of it in *Rabbi Ben Ezra, Jochanan Hakkadosh, Ben Karshook, Holy Cross Day, Filippo Baldinucci*.

To return to the novelists. The name of George Eliot brings before us one of the profoundest students of the Jewish character. She had already written the *Spanish Gypsy* in 1868; but "in 1876 (says Mr. L. Wolf) the publication of *Daniel Deronda* gave to the Jewish national spirit the strongest stimulus it had experienced since the appearance of Sabbatai Zevi." Rabbi David Philipson has dealt with this great novel in two thoughtful essays. Another lady novelist, Mrs. Humphry Ward has a Jewish character in her work *Sir George Tressady;* and, again, so has Mrs. Katherine Cecil Thurston in her novel *The Circle* (1900). We may also note Miss Charlotte M. Yonge's *The Cruise of the Ben Berash* (1897); while it will be remembered that Mrs. Craigie (John Oliver Hobbs) introduced Benjamin Disraeli into one of her novels. Marie Corelli's *Temporal Power* and *Barabbas* may also be mentioned.

Having noticed the lady-novelists, we may refer to Thomas Adolphus Trollope, who has references to the Jews in *What I Remember;* to Walter Besant's *The Rebel Queen;* to George Meredith's *The Tragic Comedians*, with its incidents in the life of Ferdinand Lasalle. H. Rider Haggard [who had joined with Andrew Lang in *The World's Desire* (1891)] may also be noted in connexion with his *Benita* (1902) and *Pearl Maiden* in the following year; Hall Caine gives us Israel ben Oliel in *The Scapegoat* (1891); C. F. Keary has allusions in *Broken Playthings* (1906); Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has a striking little tale about a Jew from Plymouth and a Prisoner on Dartmoor, called "The Jew on the Moor," in *Corporal Sam and other Stories;* George Moore has given us *The Brook*

Kerith. Mr. Louis Zangwill has reminded us of George Walker's *Theodore Cyphon.*

Nor in writing of Jewish Literature may we forget: Amy Levi, *Reuben Sachs* (1889); Samuel Gordon, *Sons of the Covenant* (1900); Joseph Hatton's *By Order of the Czar* (1890); Lily Montagu's *Naomi's Exodus* (1901); M. P. Shiel's *The Lord of the Sea* (1901); and Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick's *Isaac Eller's Money.* W. Hale White (Mark Rutherford) has given us *Clara Hopgood* and *Baruch Cohen.*

Last, but not least, we have Mr. Israel Zangwill's brilliantly clever *Ghetto Sketches.*

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